The Dissertation Committee for Annette Marie LeZotte
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Signature Spaces and Signature Objects

in

Early Netherlandish Paintings of Domestic Interiors

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Supervisor

John Clarke

Michael Charlesworth

Glenn Peers

Louis Waldman

Nancy Kwallek

**Signature Spaces and Signature Objects**

**in**

**Early Netherlandish Paintings of Domestic Interiors**

by

**Annette Marie LeZotte, B.A., M.A.**

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In loving memory:

Betty Jane Kelly Ruud
1917-1999

Michael E. Fritz
1967-2001

If I should die and leave you here awhile,
Be not like others, sore undone, who keep
Long vigils by the silent dust, and weep.
For my sake – turn again to life and smile,
Nerving thy heart and trembling hand to do
Something to comfort other hearts than thine.
Complete those dear unfinished tasks of mine
And I, perchance, may therein comfort you.

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"It takes a village to raise a child."
- African Proverb

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**Early Netherlandish Paintings of Domestic Interiors**

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The significance and meaning of the works of art and domestic objects depicted in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Netherlandish paintings with home settings are analyzed in light of painters' motivations to construct a visual identity through their compositions. My argument suggests that artists' depictions of domestic interiors were carefully composed and constructed to document the provenance of the image in the workshop of a specific master. This documentation served not only to identify a particular artist but also often

communicated his artistic heritage and location in a particular city. I argue that this documentation was created through the manipulation of decorative schemes and traditional modes of symbolism.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**LIST OF TABLES**

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

# INTRODUCTION

> The comparative lack of domestic documentation for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the still overwhelmingly religious character and function of art in this period have hampered the study of houses, their functions, and their appointments, even though here, too, the paintings of Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck, and other early Netherlandish painters offer tantalizing evidence of a rapidly evolving domestic material culture.[1]

With these words, Mariët Westermann succinctly articulates the conundrum faced by art historians exploring issues of domesticity in Early Netherlandish painting. The paucity of scholarship on the Northern Renaissance home has become even more evident recently as writings dedicated to the domestic imagery of the seventeenth century have flourished. The new literature on Dutch homes raises questions about its precedents. Do fifteenth century paintings of domestic interiors represent the beginning of a genre that culminates in the seventeenth century?

The world of seventeenth century Dutch domestic imagery and the scholarship that has explored it can be introduced through an examination

[1] Mariët Westermann, "Wooncultuur in the Netherlands: A Historiography in Progress," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000), 25.

of Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Peepshow* (figs. 1-2). This fascinating three-dimensional box with viewing holes in the sides captures the interior of a Northern European home and its accoutrements with astonishing reality. Or does it?

This is the question posed by John Loughman and John Michael Montias in the introduction to their recent book dedicated to the topic of the display of works of art in Dutch homes.[2] They turn a skeptical eye to the *Peepshow* and its seeming truthfulness in accurately representing the Dutch home. They write:

> With all its apparent realism, the perspective box is hardly a complete and accurate guide to contemporary furnishings and decoration. In the first place, Van Hoogstraten's interior has a somewhat empty, unlived-in feeling to it. Where are the major fireplaces, tables, cupboards, and other storage furniture? They may of course be out of sight in those corners of rooms that the artist does not represent. Like most painters of the domestic interior, Van Hoogstraten's angle of vision is a selective one. Secondly, the box mixes reality with fiction. On the one hand, various clues suggest it shows Van Hoogstraten's own house on the Marktveld in Dordrecht: a letter addressed to the painter placed on a chair, his family coat-of-arms, and his wife's heraldic device in a distant stained glass window. On the other

[2] John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000).

> hand, it can scarcely have been intended to be a model of a real house. Inconsistencies of space and light direction, as well as insufficient detail about the scale and relationship to each other of the various adjoining rooms, make it impossible to draw up a convincing ground plan of the building. At best we can say that elements of the interior are based on observed reality, while the entire edifice is an imaginary one. In addition, some of the secondary images in the perspective box appear to play a part in a coherent iconographic programme.[3]

Loughman and Montias' intent in pointing out the problematic elements of the seeming "reality" of the *Peepshow* is to caution art historians about embracing such images as definitive sources for information on how art was displayed in seventeenth century Dutch homes. Their discussion does not explore the reasons why artists depicting homes deviated from perfectly accurate representations of the household interior; however, several other art historians writing about paintings depicting Dutch domesticity have addressed this issue.[4]

Mariët Westermann and the contributors to her 2001 exhibition

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[3] Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces,* 12.

[4] Loughman and Montias mention that for most patrons art was purchased and displayed for the purposes of decoration and visual enjoyment. This perhaps implies that artists manipulated images to heighten their aesthetic appeal. Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces,* 13.

catalogue *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt* explain artists' choices to depict objects as realistic in their visual and textural qualities but unrealistic in their placement or function in terms of the painters' desire to demonstrate their skill at rendering.[5] C. Willemijn Fock offers the case study of Dutch artists' exaggerated depictions of oriental rugs when most homes used matting on their floors:

> Again, what could be the reason for this extraordinary proportional misrepresentation in genre paintings of the use of Turkish carpets on the one hand and common matting on the other? Surely, the answer must lie in the more rewarding artistic challenge posed by colorful carpets. Dutch theoretical and critical writing of that day put a high premium on the painter's ability to imitate reality in paint: the aim was the creation of an illusion of tangible reality. This was achieved mostly by representing different materials as deceptively as possible. Textiles – notably Turkish carpets – offered painters superb opportunities to demonstrate their virtuosity in the depiction of variations in texture (dull or shiny, rough or smooth), of intricate patterns, nearly always shown in folds, of variegated colors, and the like. Simple matting held less pictorial interest.[6]

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[5] Mariët Westermann, ed., *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001).

[6] C. Willemijn Fock, "Semblance or Reality?: The Domestic Interior in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting," In *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, edited by Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 94-95.

Fock notes that not only did painters exaggerate the frequency of some objects in their paintings but in some instances they also included items in the composition that may not have been found in domestic interiors of the time. Two examples can be found in Emanuel de Witte's painting, *Interior with a Woman at the Virginals* (fig. 3). Fock draws attention to the elaborately patterned marble floor and the dual brass chandeliers in the image and comments that seventeenth century documents and inventories record marble floors in public rather than in private structures while the presence of two chandeliers is not recorded in any extant household inventory or description.[7] In explaining the motivations for de Witte's manipulation of actual household practice Fock states:

> Again, the reason for this pictorial deviation from reality must be sought first in the artistic opportunity afforded by the brass chandelier – the demonstration of the artist's ability to render metal in paint, with its myriad reflections and variations in color and sheen…The diminution of the second chandelier reinforces the construction of the perspective set up by the enfilade and floor tiles.[8]

Westermann and her contributors link painters' mixing of

[7] Fock, "Semblance or Reality?," In *Art and Home*, 85-86, 96.
[8] Fock, "Semblance or Reality?," In *Art and Home*, 96.

meticulous detail with inaccurate compositions of household furnishings and fixtures to an evolving understanding of and desire for privacy in seventeenth century culture.[9] Thus, painters not only concentrate on showing the most private areas of homes in their compositions but in some ways also visually define emerging concepts of privacy.

Other art historians offer differing explanations for the unique brand of realism found in Dutch paintings. Svetlana Alpers argues that painters' careful attention to rendering realistic textural effects in objects is inextricably connected to the highly developed visual literacy of Dutch seventeenth century culture.[10] Observation, intense looking, and the power of the eye were prized in this society permeated with numerous types of imagery. The ability of the artist in this social structure was seen as a manifestation of his "eye" and the ability to perceive and understand the visual elements of the Dutch world.[11] Norman Bryson believes that the visual literacy of Dutch society and the corresponding reality of detail

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[9] Westermann, *Art and Home,* 15 and particularly H. Perry Chapman's chapter of the book entitled "Home and the Display of Privacy," 129-152.
[10] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), xxv.
[11] Alpers, *The Art of Describing,* 72.

in their art reflect the first culture faced with a plethora of material goods that communicate concepts of wealth and status.[12] Bryson's explanation for manipulated or exaggerated elements of reality in Dutch paintings is that artists were responding to the desire of their patrons to own visual signifiers of economic achievement.[13] He writes of Willem Kalf's *Still Life with Nautilus Cup* (fig.4):

> Kalf's technique is brilliant at rendering the artifacts substantial and convincing, yet it also has the unnerving consequence of suggesting a virtuosity that circles endlessly round a kind of void. Because the copy is allegedly *better* than the original, the point of the original is lost, yet if that is lost, the copy loses its foundation as well. What is in the end most disturbing is that the substantiality of the objects comes under threat: are they real? – did they actually exist in Kalf's studio? Or are they ideal objects, based on the principles of actual objects yet taking off from those into a space of imaginary perfection?... What motivates Kalf's images of wealth and consumption at the summit of their existence, and what makes them considerably more interesting than they might be if rested solely on their pyrotechnics, is the *dream* of wealth they present.[14]

The intense scrutiny and analysis of Dutch seventeenth century paintings with domestic settings is not matched in scholarship dedicated

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[12] Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 98.
[13] Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 127.
[14] Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 126-127.

to the preceding centuries. This is surprising considering that many scholars view elements of Dutch domestic images as the culmination of a visual and theoretical movement that had its roots in the painted interiors of fifteenth century pictures. H. Perry Chapman writes:

> The convergence of portraiture and genre painting that seems particularly characteristic of the development of naturalism in seventeenth-century Holland actually had a long and illustrious heritage. The tradition of portraying married couples in domestic settings goes back as far as Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami* (fig. 5) of 1434, which is thought to have been a pictorial record, witnessed by the painter, of the marriage between members of two wealthy commercial families.[15]

My dissertation research began with an exploration of the aspects of fifteenth and early sixteenth century domestic imagery that reached their maturation point in seventeenth century Dutch images of houses. I quickly discovered that fifteenth century and seventeenth century paintings of homes shared a major characteristic noted in the scholarship summarized above: artists represented individual objects in their paintings in extremely realistic textures and materials but their presence

[15] Chapman, "Home and the Display of Privacy," In *Art and Home*, 144.

or positioning in the home setting was unrealistic when compared to what is known about contemporary domestic practice. However, where individual objects are concerned interpretations of meaning between fifteenth and seventeenth century images can be quite different. Religion and the practices of marketing art both underwent significant changes during the sixteenth century that influenced the symbolic readings of items shown in painted domestic interiors.

As I began researching the symbolic interpretations of Netherlandish paintings with interior settings I realized that art historians have traditionally taken a very narrow viewpoint in their scholarship. Most of the literature focused heavily on deciphering individual images and lacked general observations or conclusions that could be applied to the larger body of domestic images. One of the contributions of my dissertation to the scholarship on Early Netherlandish painting is to start a dialogue on the broader issues surrounding domestic imagery. To develop a wider understanding of pictures of the fifteenth century home and the objects contained within them I compiled a statistical study. The statistical results were then compared to descriptions of twenty middle-

class and eight noble households found in contemporary inventories as a means of assessing whether the painted objects in images actually matched those listed in the documents. This research approach, its benefits, and its limitations are discussed in Chapter One.

Using Max J. Friedländer's multivolume *Early Netherlandish Painting* corpus I constructed a statistical chart that analyzed the number and type of objects depicted in paintings with home backdrops.[16] Examining the 2,915 images reproduced in Friedländer's first twelve volumes forced me to immediately confront the issue of which compositions to classify as "domestic" in character. What are the architectural features or objects that communicate a household identity? Searches of numerous art historical sources revealed that the concept of domesticity in fifteenth century paintings is one that is assumed but not often discussed or defined. To address this void in the research on Northern Renaissance pictures I have included a case study comparing the works of Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus as a framework for discussing

[16] Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 14 vols. (Brussels, 1967-1976). Originally published as *Die altniederländische malerei,* 14 vols. (Berlin, 1924-1937). In compiling my statistical study I used the images reproduced in the 1967-1976 edition.

the characteristics of the domestic setting in Chapter Two.

Using the criteria discussed in the Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus case study I ultimately classified 287 of the 2,915 Friedländer images examined as having a home backdrop. These 287 paintings were then analyzed in terms of the number and character of the objects displayed in them as well as their subject matter and the frequency of depiction of certain subjects by particular masters and their followers. The interpretation of the statistical studies of the 287 domestic images forms the core of my dissertation. In Chapter Three I discuss how artists manipulated their depictions of interior space and repeated compositional and architectural motifs as a means of communicating their artistic identity. I refer to this practice as "signature spaces."

In Chapter Four I explore a similar process which I have termed "signature objects" whereby painters depicted objects in specific forms as a way of promoting their craft, their workshop identity, and their artistic heritage. I also address the issue of objects that are excluded from paintings or whose appearance is significantly altered. I believe these exclusions or alterations indicate panel painters' attempts to control

competition from other types of artists or painters and thus promote their identity and status.

In Chapter Five I explore how the concepts of signature spaces and signature objects can be applied to individual images. Using a case study of Annunciation images I discuss how artists incorporated signature spaces and signature objects into traditional iconographic frameworks in order to demonstrate their artistic allegiances and working practices while still communicating accepted religious messages.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Exploring the History and Refining the Research of the Domestic Setting

### The Historiography of the Domestic Setting

When looking at a fifteenth century painting that depicts a domestic interior the viewer is drawn into an intimate world. The impression created in the mind of the observer is unlike that of any other setting. Landscape vistas or elaborate ecclesiastical frameworks envelop the audience in spaces that overwhelm them physically; whereas gold ground paintings or those that simulate textile backdrops purposely deny the viewer an experience of everyday space. It is in paintings with domestic backdrops that one feels the most affinity for the world created by the artist. These painted environments included realistic reproductions of elements of fifteenth century homes that contemporary viewers lived in, closely linking the domestic setting to their daily experience.

While many scholars of Northern Renaissance art acknowledge the domestic nature of scenes represented in Early Netherlandish painting, no

comprehensive study of the sources or meaning of this particular setting exist. Much debate surrounds the interpretation of the domestic setting in fifteenth century Netherlandish art. Were painters creating references to real places that existed in the fifteenth century? Are these spaces imaginary or symbolically composed? Are the settings accurate in detail but not in totality?

Scholars offer different opinions in answer to the above questions. Historians of furniture and interiors most often argue that homes represented in fifteenth century paintings depict or reflect actual interiors and/or the objects commonly contained within them; these thus serve a documentary function.[17] In the introduction to her book *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*, Penelope Eames discusses the documentary nature of fifteenth century paintings depicting domestic interiors. She states:

> Sufficient architecture and architectural detail, furniture and documentary material survive to

[17] Peter Thornton, *Form and Decoration: Innovation in the Decorative Arts: 1470-1870* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998). Thornton's book uses Netherlandish paintings in such a documentary capacity. To his credit, Thornton admits that the book is not intended to be scholarly and he avoids the academic questions of whether such an approach is accurate or not.

> demonstrate that these paintings are an accurate mirror of bourgeois life at the time, recreating for us with warmth and immediacy the domestic comfort and amenity enjoyed by the wealthy burghers of such powerful cities as Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.[18]

Mario Praz offers specific examples to support Eames' statement in a discussion of fifteenth century Flemish images contained in his survey of interior decoration. In an analysis of the furnishings depicted in the miniature of the *Birth of St. John the Baptist* (fig. 6) from the *Turin-Milan Hours,* Praz notes:

> The bedroom by Jan van Eyck and his assistants, in the miniature *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist* from the *Heures de Milan* is no longer a summary reproduction of a room. The details are of an extraordinary precision. The invention of the water-saw, which soon spread from Augsburg to other cities, revolutionized the construction of furniture, allowing the making of frames which assured solidity, lightening the mass, and obviated the inconveniences of the wood's warping or shrinking. The table in the center of the room in the *Birth of Saint John* reveals this new kind of construction.[19]

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[18] Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (London: The Furniture History Society, 1977), xvii-xviii.
[19] Mario Praz, *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration: From Pompeii to Art Nouveau* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 75.

Harold Osborne shares a similar opinion to those of Eames and Praz as expressed in a discussion of fifteenth century European furniture styles. Osborne states that the stylistic analysis of extant fifteenth century furnishings is more secure as a result of the evidence of style offered in contemporary Flemish paintings.[20] Osborne's approach can be viewed as a sort of Morellian methodology within furniture connoisseurship whereby actual furniture pieces can be compared to painted depictions to more securely verify date, geographical location of production, and perhaps function or patronage.

Similarly, art historians Lorne Campbell, Craig Harbison, and Catherine Reynolds have all cited a fifteenth century artist's contract that specifically requests depictions of furnishings that accurately reflect contemporary pieces. The contract dates from 1448 and was negotiated between the sculptor Ricquart de Valenciennes and the Abbey of Flines for the execution of a carved altarpiece. The document specifies that the bed represented in the Nativity scene should reflect the style of those

[20] Harold Osborne, *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977), 347.

found in the homes of "...seigneurs et bourgois" while the chair should be depicted in the style of those found, "...in Brabant and Flanders and in several other places."[21] This contract supports the conclusions of furniture historians who suggest that images reflect reality. Yet, when compared to other artistic contracts it is unique in its references to specific styles of furnishings. Furthermore, the reference to the bed is puzzling. Does this contract imply that the nobility and the middle classes used the same type of furnishings in their homes? This is an issue that will be addressed in the coming chapters.

While art historians cite the Abbey of Flines contract as written support that paintings can reflect reality, in a broader context they tend to be more conservative than furniture historians in their assessment of the historical accuracy of the details of domestic settings depicted in Flemish paintings. Art historians most often argue that the details of homes

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[21] The original contract was first published in A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Première série I* (Ghent, 1860), 43-47 and subsequently cited in Lorne Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century," (*Burlington Magazine* 118, 1976): 192-193; Craig Harbison, "Realism and Symbolism in Early Flemish Painting," (*Art Bulletin* 66, 1984): 588; Catherine Reynolds, "Reality and Image: Interpreting Three Paintings of the *Virgin and Child in an Interior* Associated with Campin," in *Robert Campin: New Directions in Scholarship*, ed. Susan Foister and Susie Nash (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 183.

represented in fifteenth century paintings either have symbolic value or are used to send specific messages to the viewer while acknowledging that such symbolism or communication is in keeping with forms of the time. Erwin Panofsky introduced this issue in his 1934 article on Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5).[22] Panofsky writes:

> Small wonder then that the Arnolfini portrait has been praised as a masterpiece of 'realistic' interior, or even genre, painting. But the question arises whether the patient enthusiasm bestowed upon this marvellous interior anticipates the modern principle of 'l'art pour l'art,' so to speak, or is still rooted to some extent in the medieval tendency of investing visible objects with an allegorical or symbolic meaning.[23]

Panofsky later concludes:

> Thus our question whether or not the still life-like accessories in our picture are invested with a symbolical meaning turns out to be no true alternative. In it, as in other works by Jan van Eyck, medieval symbolism and modern realism are so perfectly reconciled that the former has become

[22] The identification of the male figure in the painting as Giovanni Arnolfini has recently been questioned and the most recent catalogue of the National Gallery of Art in London lists the title of the painting with a question mark after the name "Giovanni." See Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1998), 192-198.

[23] Erwin Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934): 126.

> inherent in the latter. The symbolical significance is neither abolished nor does it contradict the naturalistic tendencies; it is so completely absorbed by reality, that reality itself gives rise to a flow of preternatural associations, the direction of which is secretly determined by the vital forces of medieval iconography.[24]

Panofsky's conclusion that the domestic setting in the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* functions both as a document of reality and a symbolic construction has met with criticism from art historians uncomfortable with the idea that a painted home backdrop (and the objects contained within it) can have such a complex, and perhaps even hidden, symbolic content. Jan Baptist Bedaux says of Panofsky's interpretation:

> The first thing that struck me after a close rereading was that the objects in the painting, which figured as 'specific symbols' in Panofsky's interpretation, seemed to have been chosen arbitrarily, and the interpretation itself was anything but coherent.[25]

Bedaux argues that a reading of the objects in the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* must correspond more closely to contemporary

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[24] Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," 127.
[25] Jan Baptist Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols: Studies in the Iconology of Netherlandish Art 1400-1800* (The Hague: Gary Schwartz/SDU Publishers, 1990), 10-11.

religious and social practice rather than linking such items to esoteric contemporary texts. He states:

> …we seriously question whether a similar procedure of symbol adaption was followed when the *Arnolfini Portrait* was painted. This 'bourgeois' and 'profane' picture, unique in both its iconography and its function, is the first of its kind; and although this very picture gave birth to the term 'disguised symbolism,' it is the one that least qualifies. There was no need for the painter 'to reconcile the new naturalism with a thousand years of Christian tradition,' nor was it necessary to invent for this commission a method to incorporate a symbolic program into a painted reality.[26]

The most recent scholarship on the debate strikes a middle ground between Panofsky and Bedaux's stances. Although writing about the *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 7) rather than the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife,* Reindert Falkenburg argues that such images contain a much greater iconographic flexibility than that proposed by Panofsky and that their textual sources are vernacular devotional texts geared towards a lay audience rather than theological treatises for the clergy.[27]

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[26] Bedeaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 53.

[27] Reindert Falkenburg, "The Household of the Soul: Conformity in the *Merode Triptych*," in *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies*, ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001): 2-17.

While Panofsky, Bedaux, and Falkenburg all acknowledge the seeming reality of the domestic settings displayed in fifteenth century Netherlandish paintings, still other scholars question the interpretation of such interiors as truly "domestic." Shirley Neilsen Blum, Barbara Lane and Carla Gottlieb have all argued that the objects in paintings such as Robert Campin's *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 7), Jan van Eyck's *Lucca Madonna* (fig. 8), and Rogier van der Weyden's *Louvre Annunciation* (fig. 9) are in actuality items that reflect a church context, thus transforming the domestic setting into a sacramental setting – transforming rooms into sanctuaries.[28]

Yet another group of scholars views homes shown in fifteenth century Netherlandish paintings as a specific tool used by the artist to achieve certain formal or stylistic goals. Otto Pächt sees the Netherlandish domestic interior setting as an opportunity for artists in the North to

[28] Shirley Neilen Blum, "Symbolic Invention in the Art of Rogier van der Weyden, " *Kunsthistorisk Tidskrift* 46 (December 1977): 105-6; Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 52-54; and Carla Gottlieb, "Respiciens per Fenestras: The Symbolism of the Merode Altarpiece," (*Oud Holland* 85, 1970): 65-84, "Disguised Symbolism in the Gulbenkian Annunciation," (*Colóquio: Artes* 32, 1977): 24-33, and *The Window in Art*, 114-119.

emulate Italian artistic developments in the exploration of creating convincing pictorial space.[29] Carol Purtle draws similar connections in her analysis of the source of Northern images depicting the insides of contemporary houses. She believes that both the compositional and iconographic basis for Netherlandish representations of domestic interiors can be found in Sienese prototypes. She states:

> …the northern artist has clearly translated accidental details of the composition's iconography from Italian to the vernacular. He appears not to have added further meaning to the work, except that, for the viewer, the religious scene is now played by characters in northern costume with northern utensils and furnishings. If Campin or his predecessors followed a similar path in a region farther West, as our examination of the Madonna of Humility theme might indicate, we are left to consider these works as Italian compositions customized for regional viewers in France or Flanders. Instead of the gold ground of the Sienese Madonnas, we have the domestic setting of the Flemish interior. If this development can be presumed, then the basic choice of object and setting, as well as figure-type, could be considered simply Flemish translations of earlier compositions that probably carried their original iconographic

[29] Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 52-54.

significance forward from an earlier Sienese source.[30]

However, not all scholars view Netherlandish painted interiors as opportunities for artists in the North to emulate Italian models. Germain Bazin discusses how such images were used in the Netherlands to communicate a uniquely Northern understanding of space.[31] Bazin notes that fifteenth century Flemish artists were not as strictly empirical as Italian artists in their construction of space. He also points to the use of the mirror motif by Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling as an innovation in representing the fourth wall of an enclosed space. Craig Harbison expresses a similar view to that of Bazin. Harbison discusses the asymmetrical and irregular plans of fifteenth century Northern domestic structures as opposed to the strict symmetry of Italian domestic space. He then states, "...the representation of space in panel painting mirrors or

[30] Carol J. Purtle, "The Iconography of Campin's Madonnas in Interiors: A Search for Common Ground," In: Susan Foister and Susie Nash, eds. *Robert Campin: New Directions in Scholarship* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1996), 176.
[31] Germain Bazin, "La notion d'interieur dans l'art néerlandais," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 39 (January 1952): 5-26.

relates to the actual construction or articulation of space in contemporary northern European architecture."[32]

In addition to the iconographic and artistic motivations discussed above, several art historians have interpreted the domestic settings of Netherlandish paintings as signifiers of the social status of either the artist or the patron. Millard Meiss analyzes the spaces depicted in Netherlandish paintings in light of the status of the artists who painted them, noting that Jan van Eyck's sophisticated interiors indicate his status as court artist while Robert Campin's middle-class settings reflect his life in the manufacturing town of Tournai.[33] Harbison views the relationship between setting and status in a similar way although he deviates from Meiss' distinctions of upper versus middle class. Harbison believes that domestic backgrounds were developed by middle class artists, working

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[32] Craig Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 35.

[33] Millard Meiss, "'Highlands' in the Lowlands: Jan van Eyck, the Master of Flémalle and the Franco-Italian Tradition," in *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 40-41. Erwin Panofsky mentions that Jan van Eyck served an elite clientelle while Robert Campin's patrons came from the upper middle classes although he does not specifically discuss this in the context of domestic imagery. See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), 149.

for the middle class, not by artists such as Campin, van Eyck, and Rogier van der Weyden. He states:

> It is quite possible, then, that domestic religious imagery was not first conceived by a small group of prominent painters who were, as far as we know, engaged in work for a relatively elite clientele…What seems just as likely is that bourgeois imagery came from the minds and brushes of the numerous other middle-class artists…If this is true, then domestic imagery might well be taken as a sign of the social forces in motion at the time, of the desire of the rising middle class to appropriate realism for its own purposes.[34]

**Approaches to Studying the Domestic Setting**

At first glance, the historiography of the domestic setting summarized in the previous section seems extensive. While it is true that furniture historians and art historians hold a wide range of views as to the meanings that can be culled from examining domestic imagery, these diverse readings are often confined to the interpretation of a single image or theme. To develop new approaches it is imperative to explore the depiction of homes in a much broader context.

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[34] Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1991), 95-96.

**Inventories as Art Historical Sources**

One of the sources that could aid the expansion of research on the domestic setting but is often underutilized by scholars in their investigation of the meanings of fifteenth century paintings is contemporary inventory descriptions of Netherlandish homes. In most studies, art historians tend to focus narrowly their application of these documents. One or two relevant inventory descriptions are chosen to illustrate a point made about an individual work of art or artist; or even more specifically a single object in a painting is compared to a particular inventory description. This suggests that while scholars recognize the importance of these primary sources in the interpretation of a specific painting they perhaps struggle to apply them in discussions of broader iconographic studies.

Although fifteenth century inventories provide scholars with a valuable primary source, they have their limitations. Inventories conducted in Northern Europe during the early Renaissance tend to record only items deemed the most valuable in monetary terms. Unlike Italian inventories that systematically list every object contained in a

household, Northern inventories are very selective in their content.[35] Furthermore, there are significant differences in the organization and content of inventories conducted in middle-class Netherlandish homes versus those conducted in noble households.

**Inventories of Middle-Class Homes**

Netherlandish inventories of middle-class homes were usually conducted upon a person's death and record the major objects and furnishings contained in the household. Typically, the person conducting the inventory used a room-by-room method of accounting for objects. For art historians, this type of documentation gives us valuable insight into where works of art were stored or displayed in the Flemish home. The unfortunate aspect of Renaissance inventories is the generality of their language. Although the inventory taker might tell us that he found a statue of the Trinity in the bedroom he often does not tell us any more than that basic fact. We are left with questions. What material was it made of? What size was it? Where was it found in the room? Despite the

[35] I thank Jacqueline Marie Musacchio for calling this to my attention.

many limitations of inventories and the questions they leave open, these documents do give us important information about the contents of the Netherlandish home.

However, it is important to keep in mind the ultimate purpose for which these inventories were conducted: the valuation of an estate. This primary function of inventories influences the types of items that consistently appear in them. A majority of middle-class inventories focus on recording items of value such as large pieces of furniture, expensive textiles, works of art, and objects made of metal. These documents typically exclude items such as glass containers, small textiles, clothing, foodstuffs, or inexpensive household objects such as dishes. Yet often these items appear in depictions of Netherlandish households. How do we reconcile what was recorded and what is depicted? This is a challenge I will address later as I compare Flemish images to inventory descriptions.

An idea of the objects contained in small Netherlandish homes of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries can be gained from examining the inventory contents of a modest house in Bruges. On the 22nd of July

in the year 1467 the objects belonging to Adolf Hoonin were recorded. The major items in his house included:

2 coffer-type benches
2 regular benches
4 stools
2 cushions
1 dresser
1 linen chest
1 table
1 bedframe with a canopy
2 chairs
2 paintings on cloth (subjects not specified)[36]

Simple logic would tell us that there are objects not recorded in the inventory that Adolf Hoonin must have had in his home. Surely he owned a wash basin and pitcher, a drinking cup, a chamber pot, candlesticks, and clothing. However, for the purposes of establishing the value of his estate these items were excluded as the inventory taker determined they had little or no worth. Yet we must ask ourselves, if a contemporary painter had been commissioned to paint an image of Adolph Hoonin's home would he have included all of the objects listed in the inventory and excluded all of those we must assume have been left

[36] "Kleine Inventarissen van Huisraad Brugge 1467-1471," *Biekorf: Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 63 (1962): 304.

out? Certainly not. In the following chapters I will discuss images that are full of objects not necessarily mentioned in inventories.

The inventory of the home of Lisbette Roucx in Bruges conducted on the 17th of March in 1462 gives us an idea of what a slightly larger middle-class home would have contained. Lisbette's house had five rooms that contained the following:

Main Room
1 long bench
1 small coffer-type bench
1 small stove/burner
1 dresser
1 round table
3 stools and a backgammon game board
1 painting on cloth (subject not specified)

Kitchen
1 case-type coffer with four locks
1 black kettle
4 candleholders
1 bread/baking pan with an iron spoon for basting

Antechamber
1 mattress with bedframe and blue woolen bedding
1 bench
1 small table with a stool and a chair

Chamber
1 mattress with bedframe and blue woolen bedding
2 benches (one with a back)

2 cushions
1 table with two chairs
1 coffer-type bench
1 painting on cloth (subject not specified)
1 daybed with blue woolen bedding and underneath this bed a mattress

Devotional Area
1 small coffer
3 blue woolen cushions on a small bed draped in blue woolen cloth[37]

As with the household inventory of Adolf Hoonin, there seem to be items excluded in the record of Lisbette Roucx's belongings that must have been in her home. Consider, for example, the reference to the four candleholders in her kitchen. Certainly Lisbette had a supply of candles to place in the holders yet they are not listed amongst her possessions. Furthermore, although several coffers are present in the rooms of Lisbette's house the inventory taker did not investigate or record their contents in his document.

A compelling art historical aspect of both the inventories of Adolf Hoonin and Lisbette Roucx is the mention of paintings on cloth among the belongings in their residences. The reference to these objects indicates

[37] "Inventaris van Lisbette Roucx Bruges 1462," *Biekorf: Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 64 (1963): 46.

that even modest households collected and displayed works of art and that these items held some value within the overall estate. However, our knowledge of the exact function of these images within the home is limited. In neither case are we told the subject matter of the paintings on cloth, their size, or exactly how they were displayed. Were these paintings hung on the wall or propped up on furniture pieces? Were these devotional works of art that were used during daily prayer? Were these images of saints present as talismans to protect the household? Were these secular subjects that functioned merely as decoration for the home?

One of the most descriptive inventories in terms of art historical information was conducted in 1476 in the Bruges home of Claeys Lavezuene. The person who conducted the inventory was a bit more specific than usual in his account of the household. He tells us, for instance, that in the dining room of the house there were three paintings on cloth displayed in wooden frames: one of a young girl, one of St. George, and the third a scene of the Crucifixion. Mentioned in the same context with these images, the inventory taker records a drawing on cloth

(perhaps a grisaille?) of the Virgin Mary. In addition, Claeys Lavezuene's dining room inventory describes a dresser with a tabernacle containing three statues: one of the Virgin Mary and two of Jesus. The next item listed is four candlesticks, two with pointed pin ends to secure the candle. The inventory taker then notes that there were two painted panels on the dresser.[38] The wording of this inventory combined with the order in which the items are presented in the list suggests that Claeys Lavezuene had perhaps constructed a house altar in his dining room. However, we are still challenged with the task of visualizing this arrangement. Is the tabernacle formed by doors set into the body of the dresser itself or is it a separate furniture piece placed on top of the dresser? Are the paintings mentioned on the dresser painted directly onto panels that are part of the furniture piece or are they separate objects displayed on or attached to the dresser? Comparing such inventory descriptions to fifteenth century paintings showing domestic interiors may help to answer some of these questions.

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[38] Antoon Viaene, "Figurative Vroomheid in de Oude Brugse Huiskamer 1475-1518," *Biekorf: Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 64 (1963): 271-274.

**Inventories of Noble Residences**

Fifteenth and early sixteenth century inventories of the belongings of the nobility share some common distinguishing characteristics. Conducting inventory listings of noble households was not necessarily contingent upon the death of a member of the household. For some noble families, inventories were taken every few years as means of documenting gifts and recording the distribution of belongings amongst multiple residences. Unlike inventories of middle-class households, which are typically organized according to the rooms of the house, documentary listings of the objects owned by the upper classes are generally organized by grouping similar items together. Common sub-headings that appear in noble inventories include objects such as necklaces, textiles, and tapestries. In some instances, objects are classified by their material. For example, many noble inventory sections have headings such as "objects of gold," "rubies," or "pearls." This type of organization certainly indicates the immense wealth of the nobility at this time and the large number of precious trinkets contained in their households. However, we are left to wonder where these objects were kept on a day-to-day basis.

Furthermore, certain objects that were not easily categorized based on their form or material may have been excluded from the accounts of noble households.

References to specific rooms and their decoration in noble houses come mainly from descriptions of "chambres" – groups of figurative or decorative tapestries or textiles that covered the walls (and sometimes the windows and doors) of grand residences. After reading the wording of noble inventories it becomes clear that in many cases rooms were defined or described not by their function but by the suite of tapestries that commonly decorated them.[39] This indicates the important role that textiles played in shaping the character and perception of domestic spaces during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

There are a few examples of noble inventories that describe in detail the contents of a specific room. For example, in the inventory of the household of Charles V King of France (r. 1364-1380) there are sections that list the contents of the king's and queen's studies, their chapels, and their wardrobes. However, these are the only rooms of which we are

[39] Leon de Laborde. *Inventaire de mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris, 1879), 362 n. 1.

given a glimpse of the grouping of objects in the noble house. Spaces such as the dining rooms and bedrooms are not described in detail as specific areas. Instead, the objects that we must assume they contained are listed under general headings such as "objects of gold" or "books."[40]

**Comparing Middle-Class and Noble Inventories**

The economic disparity between the middle-classes and the nobility most likely accounts for the differences between the inventories conducted in their homes during the fifteenth century. The descriptions of objects in middle-class inventories tend to be brief while those in noble inventories tend to be more specific. An example of the differences in the explanation of household objects is routinely seen in entries about textiles. Middle-class inventory takers tend only to record bedding textiles and the most thorough of recorders will sometimes mention the color of this bedding. In contrast, noble inventories contain page after page of detailed descriptions of textiles. The textiles listed are not just those used for

[40] Laborde, Inventaire de mobilier de Charles V, 231-241.

bedding but very often are the textiles stored in coffers and cabinets as well.

While middle-class and noble inventories are markedly different in their organization and content, they can be used together in the analysis of the domestic interiors and objects represented in Netherlandish paintings. As mentioned in the historiographic section of this chapter, several scholars of fifteenth century art have argued that class distinctions in either patron or artist can be read in the imagery of Flemish paintings. A comparison of these images to both middle-class and noble inventories can add important insights to this discussion. In addition, an examination of multiple inventories can give us a broader perspective on the types of objects commonly owned by the middle and noble classes. This information can then be compared to the visual information offered by the images to draw conclusions as to the function of objects painted into domestic pictures. Finally, the objects listed in both middle-class and noble inventories can be examined to determine if there were objects commonly found in fifteenth century homes that are not often depicted in Netherlandish images.

**Statistics as a Methodological Tool**

While several scholars have compared individual objects seen in fifteenth century Netherlandish paintings to those described in middle-class or noble inventories, few have looked beyond the specific details of a single work in their analysis. This type of approach can enhance our knowledge of the meaning of a particular painting but it limits an understanding of the image in a broader artistic and cultural context. My study employs a statistical methodology as a means of establishing a basis for examining the objects and interiors depicted in Flemish paintings in a wider perspective. Combining statistical results with a cross-section of middle-class and noble household inventories allows for the recognition of artistic trends and deviations.

In constructing a statistical framework, Max J. Friedländer's multi-volume corpus *Early Netherlandish Painting* offers the most thorough sampling of images produced in Flanders during the fifteenth and early

sixteenth centuries.[41] Friedländer reproduces 2,915 paintings from this time period in the first twelve volumes of his series, and the settings and objects in these images can be counted in a statistical manner to reveal trends in artistic representation.

Of the 2,915 images, just over ten percent illustrate some type of domestic space. Further analysis of these images reveals that the domestic setting was used as a background in a limited number of subjects. These subjects are the Annunciation, Virgin and Child, portraits, death scenes, Mary Magdalen, St. Jerome, birth scenes, and the Holy Family. The fact that the domestic setting seems to be confined to the representation of specific subject matters may indicate that the home backdrop served an iconographical function in fifteenth century Netherlandish images. This issue will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The format of Friedländer's corpus lends itself to the analysis of the oeuvres of specific masters and their stylistic circles.[42] An examination of

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[41] Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 14 vols. (Brussels, 1967-76). (Originally published as *Die altniederländische Malerei*, 14 vols. Berlin, 1924-37.) In compiling my statistical study I used the images reproduced in the 1967-76 edition.
[42] Each of the 14 volumes in the corpus is dedicated to assigning paintings to particular masters and their workshops or followers.

the use of the domestic setting by particular artists shows that individual masters and workshops were producing similar numbers of images with domestic settings. Beginning in the early fifteenth century and continuing through the first quarter of the sixteenth century, between six and twelve percent of the images in a given artist's body of work depicted a domestic space. The only deviation in this frequency is seen in the work of Dieric Bouts and his followers with nineteen percent of their images representing a home interior. However, it is important to keep in mind that Bouts and his sons were prolific in the production of copies of their compositions and this most likely accounts for the higher percentage. Beyond the nineteen percent peak seen in the Bouts workshop, the consistent average of six to twelve percent of images in an artist's oeuvre employing the domestic interior as a backdrop reveals that the setting neither diminished nor increased in its frequency during the course of the fifteenth century.

Although artists throughout the fifteenth century used domestic settings at a consistent rate in their images, the specific character of the setting varies from artist to artist. One of the most interesting aspects of my study involves the investigation of how fifteenth century masters and

their workshops developed what I call “signature spaces.” These signature spaces contain compositional elements or objects that are used both to suggest an interior setting and to mark this setting as the product of a particular artist or his circle. It is important to note at this juncture that one of the original goals of the Friedländer volumes was to label each painting with an attribution either to the hand of a specific master, his workshop, or circle. Friedländer's connoisseurship has been much debated by later art historians and many of his attributions have been successfully challenged, especially with the use of new scientific methods available for the examination and dating of paintings. While many of my suggestions in the following chapters could be used as a starting point for more specific discussions of attributions, I am not interested in assigning the paintings discussed to the hand of a certain individual. Instead, I am concerned with the way in which images and their style and content can be used to communicate "corporate" or "group" identities or affiliations between artists.

Beyond examinations of subject matter and workshop practice, a statistical study is particularly useful for determining the frequency of

representation of particular objects in Netherlandish paintings. As mentioned above, many scholars discuss the significance of objects such as mirrors, glass vessels, rosary beads, and candles when examining a specific painting but do not move beyond the particular image or its immediate iconographic influences. The statistical study I conducted aimed to ascertain the frequency of representation of sixteen selected objects commonly (or sometimes uncommonly) depicted in painted interior settings of the fifteenth century. The results of the object analysis can then be compared to the items that are recorded in inventories of middle-class and noble households. This comparison provides useful insights for discussing issues often raised about the reality or symbolism of particular objects displayed in Netherlandish paintings.

**Methodological Models**

Two recent studies have employed a combination of statistics and inventory descriptions as a means of creating a broader-based understanding of how domestic images reflect or interpret domestic life. The most ambitious of these is John Loughman and John Michael Montias'

*Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses*.[43] Loughman and Montias' study is concerned with the distribution of art objects throughout various rooms of the seventeenth century Dutch home. The authors have used selected inventories from homes of the Amsterdam middle-class to create statistical tables that provide information about the display of art in Dutch houses. These statistics are then compared to a few select paintings, contemporary writings on the display of art, and extant doll's houses to draw conclusions as to collecting and display practices in Dutch homes.

The other statistical study is found in the 1980 exhibition catalog *Thuis in de late middeleeuwen: Het Nederlands burgerinterieur 1400-1535*.[44] Inventories from the 1450's through the year 1500 were examined to determine the type and frequency of furnishings and household goods that were found in Flemish homes. These results were then compared to painted depictions and extant objects to draw conclusions about middle-class culture in the fifteenth century Netherlands.

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[43] John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000).
[44] *Thuis in de late middeleeuwen: Het Nederlands burgerinterieur 1400-1535* catalogue of exhibition at the Provinciaal Overijssels Museum (Zwolle: Waanders, 1980).

My study differs from those discussed above in that the statistics compiled are not taken from the inventory descriptions of household objects but from the paintings that represent them. This method allows for the comparison of paintings to a wide variety of inventories to discuss the issue of whether paintings and the objects in them reflect the social class of the artist or patron. In addition, the statistical analysis of the paintings indicates trends in artistic and workshop practice. My dissertation presents my statistics and explains how they reveal both the practical concerns of artists working in a competitive environment and iconographical constructions used to convey visual messages to the viewer. Before examining the statistical results it is necessary to turn to the topic of how images for the study were selected and categorized. The next chapter employs case studies of the paintings of Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus as a way of defining the nature and character of domestic imagery.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Defining the Domestic Setting: The Paintings of Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus

> ...the influences flowed back and forth almost to the point of promiscuity. And it was from this fluid phase that, after a new parting of the ways, the Italy of Masaccio and Fra Angelico and the Flanders of the Master of Flémalle and Jan van Eyck emerged as the only Great Powers in European painting.[45]

These are the ending words of the introductory chapter of Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting.* The "influences" mentioned in the quote refer specifically to the evolution of perspective schemes that were used to construct the illusion of interior spaces. Yet, the ability to construct a convincing three-dimensional environment in a painting does not automatically categorize that space as domestic in character. Images of enclosed environments were often ambiguous in character and challenge the viewer to discern the exact function of the space.

[45] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting,* 20.

In compiling my statistical data I had to establish a set of criteria for determining which images should be classified as representing a domestic interior. For some paintings this was an easy task; however, other images contained backgrounds that were difficult to classify. Determinations of whether to consider a particular painted space as a domestic one were complicated by a variety of factors. The most significant hindrances to studying the fifteenth century household setting are the lack of extant domestic structures from the period paired with the paucity of architectural scholarship on secular buildings and homes during this time. The two most extensive studies to date are Erdmann Hartig's *Flandrische Wohnhaus-Architektur* (1916) and Luc Devliegher's *De huizen te Brugge* (1968).[46] Yet the focus of both of these books is the exterior rather than the interior architecture of Flemish houses and thus they contribute only minimal information to investigations of inside spaces in fifteenth century paintings.

Another factor that hinders easy classifications of environments

[46] Erdmann Hartig, *Flandrische Wohnhaus-Architektur* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1916.) and Luc Devliegher, *De huizen te Brugge*, 2 vols. (Tielt: Lanoo, 1968.)

depicted in paintings as "domestic" is that secular architecture during the fifteenth century employed the same Gothic style elements that were the hallmarks of religious structures. According to Johan Huizinga, this blurring of boundaries between ecclesiastical and domestic corresponds to the prevailing philosophical mindset at the close of the Middle Ages. Huizinga states:

> Individual and social life, in all their manifestations, are imbued with the conceptions of faith. There is not an object nor an action, however trivial, that is not constantly correlated with Christ or salvation. All thinking tends to religious interpretation of individual things; there is an enormous unfolding of religion in daily life.[47]

While recent scholars have questioned the wholesale infusion of religion into secular life as proposed by Huizinga, the close integration of the religious and the secular forms, regardless of the motivation, presents a challenge to art historians attempting to discuss the realms of worldly and spiritual. What elements, objects, or architectural features identify a space as a clearly domestic one?

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[47] Johann Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1954), 151.

Erwin Panofsky and Robert Calkins have both proposed possible factors that can be used to define a painted space as domestic. In his discussion of Robert Campin's *Salting Madonna* (fig. 10) Panofsky classifies the backdrop as an "interior by implication." Panofsky uses this term in the context of an analysis of how the domestic setting evolves in Northern depictions of the Madonna of Humility. Although infused with the symbolic references characteristic of his scholarship, Panofsky's argument mentions elements such as tile floors, windows that look out over the sky or landscape, and nail-studded shutters as architectural features that define the domestic character of a space.[48] Robert Calkins takes the opposite approach in his article, "Secular Objects and their Implications in Early Netherlandish Painting." Calkins argues that items commonly used in households helped define spaces in paintings as "domestic" in the minds of fifteenth century viewers. Thus, the presence of metal vessels,

[48] It is interesting that Panofsky does not offer symbolic interpretations of the tiles, windows, or shutters. These objects are presented as elements that define the character of the space rather than the religious message presented within it. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 163.

earthenware containers, and furnishings such as beds and benches determines that a depicted environment is secular rather than sacred.[49]

The most effective approach for assessing the "domesticity" of a painted environment is to blend both Panofsky's and Calkins' strategies with a consideration of the subject matter of the image, its patronage, and the general nature of the settings depicted by a particular master. Although this establishes a series of criteria to aid in the classification of a painting as depicting a home environment, there are many images that contain contradictory elements that suggest both ecclesiastical and secular structures. When dealing with such ambiguous pictures the amount and character of the worldly features must be balanced against those of the sacred to make a judgment.

**Jan van Eyck: Degrees of Domesticity**

When using Friedländer's *Early Netherlandish Painting* as the basis

[49] Robert G. Calkins, "Secular Objects and Their Implications in Early Netherlandish Painting," in *Art Into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum Medieval Symposia*, ed. Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleen L. Scott (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995), 183-204.

for a statistical study one is almost immediately confronted with several such ambiguous images. The first portion of volume one of the corpus is dedicated to the art of Jan van Eyck and several paintings from his oeuvre or circle possibly display domestic settings. The most clearly identifiable home backdrop is the one shown in the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5). The low beamed ceiling, rectilinear windows with shutters, plain wooden floor and furniture pieces establish the domestic character of the space.[50] Sharing similar features such as the rectilinear window and the wooden floor is the *Ince Hall Madonna* (fig. 11) although the functionality of the space in this image is less obvious than in the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife*.[51] However, the lines between

[50] Most art historians seem to agree that the space is clearly domestic even if several of the objects in the painting can be read as religious symbols. Linda Seidel, while acknowledging the domestic character of the space, suggests that the reflection of a doorway in the mirror relates to ecclesiastical backdrops often used for marriage scenes. See Linda Seidel, *Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait: Stories of an Icon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 37, 41.

[51] Panofsky's discussion of the Ince Hall Madonna states that it, "...is laid in a bourgeois interior..." Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 183. The attribution of the Ince Hall Madonna to Jan van Eyck has been seriously questioned in recent studies of the picture. As I am using Friedländer's corpus as a visual and organizational reference for my statistical study I am using his attributions for sake of clarity. For a good summary of the attribution issues surrounding the Ince Hall Madonna see Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck*, 98 n. 1.

secular and sacred space become blurred as the compositions of the *Lucca Madonna* (fig. 8), the *Ghent Annunciation* (fig. 12), and the *Rolin Madonna* (fig. 13) are examined.

Turning first to the classification of the setting of the *Lucca Madonna* it will be noted that there is an apparent iconographic relationship between this image and the *Ince Hall Madonna.* There are commonalities in the settings as well. Both images show the Virgin and Child against an elaborate textile canopy in a narrow room. However, the rectilinear window and dresser in the *Ince Hall Madonna* have been exchanged for arched and medallion windows paired with a wall niche in the *Lucca Madonna*. Erwin Panofsky refers to the *Lucca Madonna* as, "...just as domestic..." as the *Ince Hall Madonna*.[52] Barbara Lane describes the room in the following terms:

> ...a narrow, box-like space that defies precise analysis. As a throne room, this interior is unusual for its lack of any regal associations other than the throne itself. Yet the ordinary objects in the niche at the right hardly suffice to identify it as a domestic setting.[53]

[52] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 184.
[53] Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece*, 14.

Craig Harbison's description of the setting probes the issue even further. He writes:

> The geometric clarity of form is overwhelming. It makes one wonder why the artist has not shown us a simple flat ceiling for his imagined chamber; instead, small corner colonnettes, which bend toward the panel's top, seem to suggest that the room is rib-vaulted. One would say that the setting is domestic, if only because there are no obvious ecclesiastical elements or furnishings. Yet, I think we must also acknowledge the fact that the artist has not painted a space whose location is unequivocal. Does the rib-vaulting suggest a domestic chapel? Or is it merely a relatively private prayer-space in a larger ecclesiastical building? This concentrated image of the Virgin nursing Christ may incline us to favour the domestic argument, yet the work's formal grandeur clearly takes us beyond any simple, homey, description of place.[54]

Despite his suggestion that Jan van Eyck may have been striving for an ambiguity between sacred and secular in the construction of the *Lucca Madonna's* space, in the paragraph following the above quote Harbison refers to the image as van Eyck's "most domestic" painting. While Panofsky classifies the setting of the *Lucca Madonna* as domestic, Lane and Harbison suggest the possible sacred implications of the space. The *Lucca Madonna*, thus, presents a challenge for the statistician who must make a

[54] Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism*, 93.

definitive decision of domestic or not. Ultimately, the connections between the clearly domestic *Ince Hall Madonna* and the slightly more grandiose *Lucca Madonna* indicate that the artist's intent was most likely to make reference to a home setting.[55] The compressed space and lack of elaborate stone tracery in the architecture of the *Lucca Madonna* also suggest that this space is more domestic than ecclesiastical.

The *Ghent Annunciation* presents a similar situation. The low beamed ceiling and confined space suggest a domestic interior, while the Gothic tracery on the niche and windows is perhaps more in keeping with a religious structure. Panofsky refers to the setting of the picture in two different sections of his *Early Netherlandish Painting*. He first comments, "In the 'Annunciation' of the Ghent altarpiece, he... changed the Master of Flémalle's bourgeois living room into a more resplendent and complex apartment elevated high above the ground (as though the Virgin were actually in the 'tower of chastity')."[56] Panofsky later categorizes the

[55] Another painting attributed to the circle of Jan van Eyck in Burgos, Spain shows an even more obviously domestic variation of the *Ince Hall Madonna* and *Lucca Madonna* compositions. This image depicts a wood beam ceiling, windows overlooking a city vista, and a chest and coffer. This painting is not included in the Friedländer corpus.
[56] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 137.

setting of the scene as an "architectural environment."[57] In neither reference does Panofsky identify the space depicted as definitively domestic or ecclesiastical. Carol Purtle equivocates as well:

> Though the foreground setting of Jan's Annunciation contained certain furnishings found in a semi-sacred place like the sacristy of a church, the temporal nature of the event was emphasized principally through the position of the light source and the existence of the room itself overlooking a city street.[58]

Fueling the debate over whether Jan van Eyck intended to compose a home or church setting in the scene was the discovery by Ludwig von Baldass that the original composition of the Annunciation setting had been changed. The panels composing the image were underdrawn with Gothic style tracery frames identical to those used to frame the donor and grisaille saint panels on the bottom portion of the altarpiece exterior.[59] Otto Pächt suggests that the compositional change reflects van Eyck's response to the development of an enhanced domestic iconography for

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[57] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 208.
[58] Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck*,101.
[59] For a summary of Baldass' findings see Otto Pächt, *Jan van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 164. The x-rays are also discussed in Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck*, 22.

the subject in Robert Campin's *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 7).[60] As with the *Lucca Madonna* discussed above, making an either/or statistical decision about the character of the *Ghent Annunciation* poses a problem. Once again, comparing the image to others of similar subjects by the artist or his followers can help in making a definitive determination. The *Ghent Annunciation,* when compared to other van Eyck compositions, is clearly more domestic in character. It does not display the soaring vertical architecture and pictorial floor tiles, wall paintings, and stained glass of the *Washington Annunciation* (fig. 14) or the complex, intricate forms of the ecclesiastical structure of the *Madonna in a Church* (fig. 15). When compared to the clearly religious backdrops Jan van Eyck constructed in these images it seems likely that his *Ghent Annunciation* setting is more secular than sacred.

At first glance Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Nicolas Rolin* (fig. 13) seems more ecclesiastical than domestic in its setting. Certainly the architectural elements of elaborately sculpted column capitals and stained glass immediately evoke associations of church

[60] Pächt, *Jan van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, 165.

construction. Yet, when compared to other van Eyck compositions such as the *Dresden Triptych* (fig. 16) and the *Madonna with the Canon van der Paele* (fig. 17) the setting of the *Rolin Madonna* does not seem as overtly sacred. Both the *Dresden Triptych* and the *Madonna with the Canon van der Paele* take place in spaces that can very quickly be ascertained as the nave and apse of a church respectively.[61] However, the open arcade framing an extensive view of a foreground garden and a background river landscape injects a worldly reference into the *Rolin Madonna's* composition. Is this an auxiliary room attached to a church or a private domestic chapel?

Erwin Panofsky rejects outright an earthly setting for the *Rolin Madonna* suggesting that the space represents neither church nor domestic chapel. Instead, he classifies the environment as a, "...throne room as part of a palace not of this earth."[62] Otto Pächt also refers to the space as a palace but does not explicitly state whether this is to be interpreted as a heavenly or temporal place.[63] Craig Harbison concurs with Panofsky and

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[61] Barbara Lane describes the Dresden Triptych and the Madonna with the Canon van der Paele as, "...the Eyckian panels that portray the most clearly ecclesiastical settings." See Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece*, 16-17.
[62] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 139.
[63] Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, 86.

Pächt's assessments of the setting as a type of palace but suggests that such spaces were not of an otherworldly realm but were found within the secular buildings of fifteenth century Flanders. He writes:

> The crenellated wall, situated as it is high above the city, has been explained as placing the foreground confrontation in a spiritual watchtower. In Bruges at that time, such fortress-like touches were to be found on several of the most grandiose mansions, complete with little roof-houses, and perhaps also roof-gardens, above them.[64]

Although Panofsky, Pächt, and Harbison all use the word "palace" in referencing the space of the *Rolin Madonna* it is clear from the above discussion that this term does not firmly designate either an ecclesiastical or domestic space. If we consider Robert Calkins' criteria for designating a space as domestic then the *Rolin Madonna* leans more towards sacred than secular. There are no objects within the composition that appear to have a domestic function. Furthermore, the sculptural decoration on the column capitals and the composition of the stained glass windows reflect

[64] Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism*, 109-111. While Harbison's suggestion is interesting he provides very little evidence to support it. The only item offered in support of his contention is a print from 1641 which shows one of the buildings of the Prinsenhof in Bruges with several of the structures he classifies as "roof-houses" on its low, flat roof.

the complex iconographical designs more typical of those displayed in ecclesiastical settings. Therefore, while some ambiguities exist in the *Rolin Madonna* it was ultimately excluded from the statistical study of domestic images.

**Petrus Christus: Sacred, Secular, and the Dividing Line of Domesticity**

The second half of Volume One of Friedländer's *Early Netherlandish Painting* is dedicated to those paintings he attributes to the hand of Petrus Christus. As with the paintings of Jan van Eyck discussed above, some of Christus' images are clearly domestic in character while others display settings that are difficult to classify. In addition, as the images of Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus are compared it becomes apparent that there is a distinct artistic dialogue that artists employ in the construction of their domestic settings. This is an issue that will be introduced briefly in this chapter and will then be discussed extensively in the next.

In his monograph on Petrus Christus, Joel Upton argues that Christus' conception and construction of space was much more definitive than that of Jan van Eyck. According to Upton, Christus developed

measurable spaces in his compositions unlike the spatial and scale ambiguities created by van Eyck.[65] However, while Christus' construction of settings may be clearer in a mathematical sense, in many cases they are more ambiguous than the images of Jan van Eyck in terms of determining their sacred or secular character.

In compiling the statistical study nine of Petrus Christus' paintings were designated as having domestic settings. As with Jan van Eyck's imagery, some of Christus' compositions clearly displayed domestic settings. A scene that immediately communicates a sense of domesticity to the viewer is Christus' *Virgin and Child in an Interior* (fig. 18). Joel Upton writes of this image:

> Even by Flemish standards, however, the nonecclesiastical, genrelike tone of the Kansas City Madonna is unusual. And, despite the fact that representations of the divine narrative were increasingly set in Flanders during the fifteenth century, this painting must be seen as an important extension of that practice to include the ordinary homes of the faithful.[66]

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[65] Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth Century Flemish Painting* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 40-42.
[66] Upton, *Petrus Christus*, 79.

The plain tile floor and rectilinear shuttered windows offering a landscape view have already been mentioned as Panofsky's signifiers of the domestic. Furthermore, the low wooden beamed ceiling and large hearth and chimneypiece are also features seen in the few extant fifteenth century interiors. Adding to the domestic character of this space are the large bed and humble objects such as the pitcher and a three-legged triangular stool which in Calkins' opinion can be used as determinants of the domestic nature of an environment.

Displaying many of the same domestic features as the *Virgin and Child in an Interior* are Christus' paintings of the *Annunciation* (fig. 19) and *Death of the Virgin* (fig. 20). The *Annunciation's* beamed ceiling, fireplace, windows, bed and stool are elements of a home interior. Some question of the domestic character of the *Death of the Virgin* arises when the barrel vaulted ceiling is considered. However, this architectural feature is not exclusively ecclesiastical in its use; and this fact paired with the presence of items such as the bed, stool, dresser, and shuttered windows ultimately leads to the determination that the *Death of the Virgin* is set in a domestic interior.

The three paintings discussed above all display settings containing beds that serve to establish the domestic functions of the spaces. A different type of domestic backdrop is presented by Christus in his painting of *St. Jerome* (fig. 21).[67] Here the figure is shown in a setting commonly referred to as a study. Dora Thornton has conducted an extensive investigation of the Renaissance study and has noted that many images of St. Jerome display this setting. While the presence of the saint might imply that the room should be understood as an ecclesiastical space, Thornton identifies the settings displayed in the Jerome paintings as a domestic one.[68] In particular, the built-in shelves located in close proximity to the desk are characteristic of the design of Renaissance studies.[69] In addition, the room Christus' St. Jerome occupies has a wooden floor similar to the one displayed in Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of*

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[67] As mentioned above, I am using Friedländer's attributions; however it bears mentioning that the attribution of the St. Jerome is still under intense investigation. It has most recently been attributed to a follower of Jan van Eyck. For the most current summary of the issues surrounding the attribution see Molly Faries, "Reshaping the Field: The Contribution of Technical Studies," in *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies,* ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 76-77.

[68] Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 27-51.

[69] Thornton, *Scholar in his Study*, 53-54.

*Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* and a diamond paned window with small squares of colored glass like the one shown in his Berlin *Annunciation*.

Several portraits by Petrus Christus place their sitters against a domestic backdrop. Erwin Panofsky discusses the fact that Christus departs from the dark, unarticulated backgrounds of many of Jan van Eyck's portraits. He notes that the subjects of Christus' paintings are, "...shown within a real interior."[70] It is interesting that the interior settings used in Christus' portraits are just as different as the faces of the people portrayed in the compositions. The backdrop of the *Portrait of a Young Lady* (fig. 22) is simple and plain, consisting of wall with wainscot paneling on the lower portion. The only decoration in this interior is a small, stylized flower carved in the chair rail above the left shoulder of the sitter. This combination of paneling below and plaster wall above suggests that the space is domestic rather than ecclesiastical.[71] The *Portrait of Edward Grymeston* (fig. 23) displays wainscoting similar to

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[70] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 310. A more recent discussion of this issue can be found in Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 50.

[71] Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "The Medieval House," in *The Secular Spirit: Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1975), 18.

the *Portrait of a Young Lady* but the unobtrusive carved floral decoration on the wall rail is replaced with heraldic shields bearing the Grymeston family coat-of-arms.[72] In addition, the viewer sees more of the room in the Grymeston portrait as a side wall punctured by a round window and the wood beams of the ceiling are depicted. Panofsky uses the term "corner-space portrait" to describe this and other compositions by Christus that depict their subjects at the juncture of two walls. Panofsky notes, "Needless to say, in admitting the beholder to the intimacy of the sitter's domestic surroundings, this 'corner-space portrait' placed their relationship on an entirely new psychological basis."[73]

Another "corner-space portrait" by Christus that is problematic in terms of its classification as sacred or secular is the National Gallery of London's *Portrait of a Young Man* (fig. 24). Peter Schabacker describes the setting as, "...possibly a chapel" although he does not specify whether this is a chapel connected to a church or a home.[74] On the one hand, the combination of the vaulted ceiling, the

[72] Upton, *Petrus Christus*, 27 n.12.
[73] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 310.
[74] Peter H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1974), 96.

arched window and the door decorated with small sculptures of a prophet, a sibyl, and St. John the Baptist suggests an architectural style that could perhaps be ecclesiastical.[75] On the other hand, the lion holding a blank heraldic shield and the single-leaf parchment illumination of the Holy Face of Christ pinned to a wooden panel are decorations that are more likely to be found in a domestic context.[76] In the case of this painting, the sacred and secular possibilities seem to be fairly evenly balanced. Like the *Rolin Madonna*, this painting presents a challenge to the statistician. Yet in comparing the two images the *Rolin Madonna* is much more elaborate in its ecclesiastical vocabulary than the *Portrait of a Young Man*. Thus, the London portrait was included in the statistical study as an example of a domestic image.

Another portrait that shares features with the *Portrait of a Young Man* and perhaps reinforces its domestic character is the right wing of a pair of donor panels depicting a woman kneeling before a *prie-dieu* in the

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[75] The identification of the subjects of the sculptures is not definitive. See Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 107.

[76] Campbell writes of the parchment on board, "Similar boards bearing inscriptions are often found in representations of interiors." See Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 108.

collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. (figs. 25-26). As in the London portrait, an arched window opening reveals a glimpse of a landscape and placed next to this window on the wall is a small devotional image. Both compositions also contain heraldic decorations although the curved shield hanging on the wall in the female donor panel is much more noticeable than the sculpted shield held by the lion in the London portrait. However, the female donor panel displays more of the room surrounding the figure than the London portrait and is also accompanied by a matching male donor panel.[77] This extra space reveals a plain tile floor and an exterior architectural structure with a crenellated courtyard wall, rectilinear doorways and windows, and simple brick work. The two donor panels of husband and wife, then, clearly display domestic architectural features.

Barbara Lane has proposed that the donor panels of husband and wife discussed above would have framed Christus' painting of the *Virgin Enthroned with Saints Jerome and Francis* (fig. 27). She notes that the floor

[77] Panofsky notes that the Portrait of a Young Man in London appears to have been cut down and may originally have been the left wing of a triptych. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 490-91, n. 313 (5).

tiles of the three paintings are the same design and that the edges of the tiles form a unified perspective scheme linking the three panels.[78] While several scholars disagree with her reconstruction, its very suggestion acknowledges that the composition of the *Virgin Enthroned with Saints Jerome and Francis* shares an affinity with the domestic character of the settings presented in the National Gallery donor panels.[79] This is particularly significant when the painting is compared to others of the Virgin and Child either with or without saints or donors by Christus that display settings that are difficult to classify as either sacred or secular.

For example, the *Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos* (fig. 28) in the Frick Collection contains the elements of the Virgin and Child placed before a cloth of honor and flanked by saints seen in the *Virgin Enthroned with Saints Francis and Jerome*. Yet, the Frick panel presents an architectural backdrop that is much different in its impression. The tiles of the floor in the foreground display elaborate patterns while

[78] Barbara Lane, "Petrus Christus: A Reconstructed Triptych with an Italian Motif," *Art Bulletin* 52 (December 1970): 390-91.
[79] For a summary of the arguments against Lane's reconstruction see Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus*, 131.

the middle ground is defined by a low wall supporting an arcade of columns with delicately carved bases and interlaced capitals. Peter Schabacker describes this setting as "...an arcaded chamber elevated above the landscape" and the elevated nature of the space leads Joel Upton to identify the place as a tower.[80] Classifying the space displayed in the Frick panel calls for some of the same considerations employed in examining the environment of Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna*. The more elaborate tile and sculptural decoration combined with the absence of any secular objects to anchor the space in a temporal sense leads to an exclusion of Christus' *Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos* from the statistical list of domestic images.

**Domestic Dialogues**

Space does not allow an examination of all 287 paintings ultimately designated as domestic in setting that were included in the statistical study. The case studies of Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus offered above give insight into the complex debates surrounding the classification of

[80] Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, 123 and Upton, *Petrus Christus*, 18.

interiors depicted in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Netherlandish paintings. One of the conclusions reached from the previous discussion is that determining whether a setting in an individual image is domestic or not often involves a close consideration of other paintings associated with the artist and his followers. This process reveals that painters were engaged in an artistic dialogue in composing their domestic settings.

Scholars continue to debate about the exact nature of the relationship between Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus. Some art historians believe that Christus was a student in the workshop of Jan van Eyck while others suggest that similarities between their paintings can be explained by the fact that Christus in essence was Jan van Eyck's "heir" as the premier painter in the city of Bruges.[81] Regardless of the specific connection between the two painters, it is clear that Christus was producing images that referred or responded to those created by Jan van Eyck.

One of the most obvious visual dialogues between Jan van Eyck

[81] For the best discussion on the relationship between Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus see Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, 19-22.

and Petrus Christus can be seen in the compositions of van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5) and Christus' *Virgin and Child in a Domestic Interior* (fig. 18). There are some direct quotations from the setting of the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* in Christus' image of the *Virgin and Child in an Interior*. Christus recreates the general features of the Arnolfini's chamber with the windows on the left wall, the bed with an adjoining high backed chair on the right and a wooden beamed ceiling supporting a hanging brass chandelier. Christus then builds upon van Eyck's basic formulation of domestic space by adding architectural features and furnishings such as the fireplace, the door opening into another room, and the three-legged triangular stool.[82] Thus, Christus references van Eyck's previous composition while contributing elements to make it his own. This process of quoting the domestic settings of previous masters while adding the artist's own unique identifiers indicates that domestic settings were not just random backdrops but served a dynamic function in communicating the provenance of an image. This issue will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

[82] Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus*, 170.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Signature Spaces as Documents of Artistic Identity

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries artists approached the task of representing the domestic setting in very different ways. A comprehensive study of domestic images reveals that certain artists had favorite motifs or objects that they consistently included in the painted homes they created. In the introduction to the 1998 National Gallery catalogue of Early Netherlandish paintings Lorne Campbell proposed that interior spaces such as those depicted in Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5) and Rogier van der Weyden's *Louvre Annunciation* (fig. 9) were likely the result of designs found in artists' pattern books.[83] While no such sketches survive, infrared examinations of Netherlandish paintings reveal evidence of the use of pounced cartoons in compositions of popular images.

While the use of pattern books and pounced cartoons in artists' workshops is widely acknowledged, few art historians have explored the

[83] This will be discussed later in the section on Gerard David. Campbell, *Fifteenth Century*, 26.

reasons for their use. In the following sections I will explore why painters repeated core compositional motifs or objects in their images. A comparison of images to contemporary household inventories will be used to demonstrate how domestic interiors in paintings reflect or interpret spaces in contemporary Flemish homes. This investigation, in turn, will lead to a discussion of how artists manipulated settings and items displayed in them to construct "signature spaces" as a means of developing a visual identifier for their workshops.

**Robert Campin and his Circle: Creating a Document of Workshop Identity**

Robert Campin and his followers produced some of the earliest depictions of interior space in fifteenth century Flemish panel paintings. The domestic settings rendered in these images are remarkably similar. Panels such as the *Salting Madonna* (fig. 10), the *Virgin and Child in an Interior* (fig. 29), the *Virgin and Child* in Leningrad (fig. 30), the *Werl Altarpiece Wings* (fig. 31), and the *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 7), display their figures against a backdrop containing the same core elements. The rooms constructed in paint by Campin and his followers all depict a space with a

fireplace, a window, a bench and a cloth hanging on a towel bar. Various scholars have attempted to understand the Campin circle's conception of domestic space, from where it evolved, if it is "realistic," and what iconographic significance it may embody.

Erwin Panofsky categorized the interiors painted by Campin and his circle as "bourgeois" in character due to their humble, simple appearance.[84] Yet we must ask ourselves, do these images truly reflect the composition and character of a fifteenth century bourgeois home? When the spaces of the Campin circle paintings are compared to those described in middle-class inventories of the fifteenth century we discover the ambiguity of Campin's represented domestic settings. Campin places his Virgins in rooms containing rather large fireplaces that would indicate such spaces should be one of the main areas of the house. However, the number of items Campin depicts in the room does not correlate with this assumption. In fact, the environments that Campin's Virgins occupy are almost too humble to be realistic. Even the smallest rooms described in fifteenth century inventories contained more furnishings than are

[84] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 163, 165.

displayed in Campin's domestic settings. The smaller of the two rooms in Adolph Hoonin's Bruges home held two benches and three stools.[85] Likewise, the smallest room in Lisbette Roucx's house was an antechamber containing a small bed, a bench, and a table and stool.[86]

While the Campin circle domestic settings may not be all-inclusive in their presentation of furnishings commonly found in smaller fifteenth century homes, the furnishings depicted do reflect the type used in lower and middle-class Netherlandish homes. Jozef De Coo's article on the *Merode Annunciation* investigates Campin's representation of furniture forms. De Coo offers evidence that the bench against which the Virgin leans is an accurate depiction of a popular adjustable back bench used by the lower classes in fifteenth century Flanders.[87] De Coo's methodology certainly works when it is confined to just this object. However, inconsistencies arise when objects other than the bench are considered. Certainly, such expensive objects as the majolica vase, the illuminated

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[85] "Kleine Inventarissen," 304.
[86] "Inventaris van Lisbette Roucx," 46.
[87] Jozef De Coo, "A Medieval Look at the Merode Annunciation," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981): 114-132.

manuscript, and the stained glass windows would not have commonly been found in lower or even middle-class homes.

Catherine Reynolds has recently explored this issue in an article dedicated to three of the Campin circle paintings of the *Virgin and Child in an Interior*. Her study focuses on the traditional interpretations of these images as representations of the Madonna of Humility; and she argues that fifteenth century viewers looking at such devotional images would not have characterized Campin's images as humble or bourgeois. She writes:

> Although the Campinesque interiors have been classified as bourgeois, this could only be true if the bourgeois were living in a way indistinguishable from that of the greatest in the land. To consider these interiors and their occupants as bourgeois and humble is to miss their contemporary impact. Contemporaries would have seen, in these plausibly real and very grand settings, grandly dressed ladies who flagrantly break the conventions of the real world: the realistic details add up to unreality.[88]

What accounts for the juxtaposition of objects that might be considered typical of those seen in the homes of the lower or middle-

[88] Catherine Reynolds, "Reality and Image: Interpreting Three Paintings of the Virgin and Child in an Interior Associated with Campin," In *Robert Campin: New Directions in Scholarship*, edited by Susan Foister and Susie Nash (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 188-189.

classes with those items owned and displayed in the palaces of the nobility? Traditionally, such questions have been answered with iconographical methodologies. One of the most popular readings of the Campin circle images is that they represent the Madonna of Humility.[89] The juxtaposition of humble and noble objects can then be explained as part of a complex devotional program that uses a variety of symbols to communicate various theological or textual references. In this reading, a bench commonly seen in houses of the poor can represent humility while expensive manuscripts and floral still-lifes communicate the purity and piety of the Virgin. Thus, when objects become translated into religious concepts or manifestations their economic disparities in the real world melt away to create a harmonious devotional ideal.

In addition to the seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of humble objects with expensive items, the Campin circle paintings present yet another odd visual pairing to the viewer. This is the depiction of a large fireplace and chimney directly next to a small window. Although few

[89] Millard Meiss, "The Madonna of Humility," *Art Bulletin* 28 (1936): 434-464 and Carol J. Purtle, "The Iconography of Campin's Madonnas in Interiors: A Search for Common Ground," 171-182.

domestic structures from the fifteenth century survive, the extant homes indicate that such close proximity between hearth and window is extremely unusual. Carol Purtle has examined this specific motif used by the Campin circle in their compositions of domestic interiors not in terms of its architectural implications but in terms of the light sources it provides in the paintings.[90] She notes that Campin and his circle always paint a fire in the hearth and sunlight entering the room from outside. Purtle notes that the depiction of the competing light sources is not necessarily naturalistically rendered. She describes the light emanating from the fire as demonstrating a "...lack of radiance...in sharp contrast to the light entering the room through the back window."[91] Purtle explains the iconographic significance of the presence of the hearth and window with their peculiar light qualities in these Campin circle interiors. She says:

> ...it is not difficult to identify the strong back light with the coming of a new day, as we read in the Collect from the

[90] Carla Gottlieb has written extensively on the window in art in general and on the windows in Campin's *Mérode Altarpiece* in particular. However she does not address any relationship between the hearth and window. See Carla Gottlieb, *The Window in Art: From the Window of God to the Vanity of Man*, (New York: Abaris Books,1981) and Carla Gottlieb, "Respiciens per Fenestras: The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece," *Oud Holland* 85 (1970): 65-84.

[91] Purtle, "The Iconography of Campin's Madonnas in Interiors: A Search for Common Ground," In *Robert Campin: New Directions In Scholarship* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 177.

> Shepherd's Mass at Christmas: 'Grant...that we who are bathed in the new light of thy incarnate Word may show forth in our deeds the light that by faith shines in our hearts...this day a great light has descended upon the earth.' The contrast between new light and old light, or between the fire-light one can control and the raking natural light which follows the creator's plan of salvation must be considered a major point in these interiors.[92]

Scholars studying the Campin circle's domestic images have gone to great lengths to explain the significance of the objects depicted (or the manner in which they are depicted.) Yet many of these studies seem to contradict each other in their interpretations. How do we reconcile the co-existence of humble and regal, realistic and non-realistic in Campin's domestic settings?

I would suggest that the repeated use of a core group of compositional motifs combined with the juxtaposition of certain elements that seem "unrealistic" in theory or practice was intended to serve as a type of signature visually linking the image to the hand of a specific master and his workshop. It is equally possible that artists developed their painted interior settings and the objects they contained from actual

[92] Purtle, "Iconography," 177.

objects or architectural features in their homes and/or studios. The fact that the same furnishings, objects, and architectural features appear repeatedly in the Campin circle paintings indicates that they were produced in a type of workshop environment where such "copying" was accepted and even encouraged.

The idea that artists used specific motifs as a type of trademark in their paintings has been discussed by Craig Harbison, Stephen Goddard, and Ferenc Batári.[93] In his discussion of painting in fifteenth century Bruges Harbison calls attention to the landscape views often seen in images and notes, "To that city's patrons at the time, these city views – ideally including one recognisable sacred edifice, the Church of Notre Dame, and one secular, the town belfry – acted in part as trademarks, certifying the origin and quality of the work of art."[94] Stephen Goddard

[93] The idea that certain motifs identify works of art with a specific workshop has also been discussed in terms of the punched decoration on gold ground tempera paintings produced in 14th and 15th century Italy and Bohemia. Frinta notes that the shapes of decorative punches can indicate the production of a painting by a specific master and/or workshop. See Mojmír Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Mediaeval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 47 (June 1965): 261-265.
[94] Harbison, *Mirror*, 14-15. Although she does not necessarily agree with Harbison's interpretation, Ann Roberts offers a good discussion of Bruges city views in the paintings of the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. See Ann M. Roberts, "The City and the Convent: The Virgin of the Rose Garden by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 72 (1998): 56-65.

has studied the brocade patterns used by the workshop of the Master of Frankfurt and notes that there are three standard designs used in the textiles shown in his images. Goddard refers to these patterns as a "shop's vocabulary" and states that this vocabulary can be used stylistically to trace followers of the master.[95] Ferenc Batári offers a similar suggestion in his discussion of the oriental carpets depicted in the paintings of Hans Memling. He calls attention to the fact that the carpets shown in Memling's images all are composed of the same design and explains this by stating, "Numerous European artists embellished their paintings with colorful rugs from their own homes or studios."[96]

Harbison, Goddard, and Batári all suggest that the naturalistic details incorporated into paintings could serve as a mark of production in a specific location be it a city or a particular artist's studio. I believe this interpretation of objects within images is equally effective when dealing with details or settings that appear somewhat, or even entirely, unrealistic. The repeated use of unrealistic objects or arrangements could

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[95] Stephen H. Goddard, "Brocade Patterns in the Shop of the Master of Frankfurt: An Accessory to Stylistic Analysis," *Art Bulletin* 67 (September 1985): 403-404, 407.
[96] Ferenc Batári, "The 'Memling' Carpets," In *Hans Memling: Essays* (Bruges: Stedelijke Museum, 1994), 63.

be a deliberate choice on the part of the artist to achieve the goal of creating a visual identifier to link an image to a specific master or his workshop. Furthermore, artists could make reference to such "signature spaces" in their compositions as a deliberate way of evoking the associations of a particular master or workshop. An example of the creation of and reference to such signature spaces can be found in the images of Rogier van der Weyden.

**Rogier van der Weyden: Documenting Artistic Heritage and Establishing Individual Identity**

Rogier van der Weyden received his artistic training in the workshop of Robert Campin and thus participated in producing images that used the specific placement of architectural features and furnishings to form a visual workshop identity. However, once emancipated from their apprenticeships artists faced the task of developing and defining their own identifiers. In the case of Rogier van der Weyden, the artist creates a signature space in his paintings that builds upon the basic foundation of the Campin circle signature space and adds Rogier's own unique signifier in the form of the fifteenth century bed. Friedländer

attributes nine images with domestic settings to the hand of Rogier van der Weyden; and eight of these nine interior representations shows a bedroom.[97]

The recognition of Rogier's importance in the development of domestic images that depict beds was noted by Erwin Panofsky in his discussion of the *Louvre Annunciation* (fig. 9). Not surprisingly, the prominent presence of the bed is explained in iconographical terms. Panofsky writes:

> And he [Rogier van der Weyden] was also the first to throw full light upon the idea of the *thalamus Virginis.* Where a bed appears in such contemporary or slightly earlier renderings as the Brenken altarpiece or the "Annunciations" by Masolino, Fra Angelico and Bicci di Lorenzo it is removed into an alcove in the rear or nearly hidden in an adjacent room, a modest footnote to the main text. In Roger's Louvre panel the Annunciation chamber itself is conspicuously and unequivocally characterized as a *thalamus*, a nuptial room not unlike the interior in the Arnolfini portrait, and the symbolic significance of the bed is clearly manifested by the fact that the chased medallion suspended from its headboard bears the image of

[97] The ninth image is the fragment of the Magdalen Reading. A possible drawing of the original composition by the Master of the Coburg Roundels and Ward's reconstruction of the composition do not include a bed as part of the interior furnishings. See John L. Ward, "A Proposed Reconstruction of an Altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden," *Art Bulletin* 53 (March 1971): 27-35 and Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999), 238-240.

the Lord.[98]

While Panofsky views Rogier's transmission of the bed from a small background detail to a major focal point in the composition as a symbolic device, it could also be read as Rogier's way of creating what I call a "signature space" within the traditional iconography of the scene. Rogier's *Louvre Annunciation* communicates the artist's origins in the workshop of Robert Campin while asserting his own unique visual signature. In keeping with the Campin workshop interiors is the bench placed in front of the fireplace that recalls compositions such as the *Merode Annunciation* (fig. 7). As in Campin's paintings of the Virgin and Child in domestic interiors, the hearth and window are placed in close proximity to each other. In fact, infrared photographs and x-rays reveal that Rogier van der Weyden changed the position of the window to make it closer to the hearth.[99] Yet, the hearth/window and hearth/bench combinations, so visually dominant in the painted domestic realms of the Campin circle, are secondary in the van der Weyden image. Instead, the *Louvre Annunciation's* visual focus is the large bed with its canopy and draperies

[98] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 254.
[99] De Vos, Rogier van der Weyden, 195.

on the right side of the composition. Rogier's juxtaposition of the brilliant red bedding and the sapphire blue of the Virgin's garment creates a saturated area of color on this side of the composition that draws the viewer's eye to this section of the painting and asserts the status of van der Weyden as a master with his own type of signature space. Certainly, Rogier van der Weyden was not the only Netherlandish artist to include a bed in his painted depictions of domestic interiors, but he does show his beds in a specific manner that distinguishes his representations from those of other artists. Rogier's paintings of beds, unlike those of most of his contemporaries, make visible the complex system of ropes and rods used to support the elaborate fifteenth century bed canopies and drapes.

Rogier's painted representations of beds and their canopy structures seem to be based on realistic observation of such furniture pieces. While all of Rogier's painted beds are shown with their suspension systems, no two are painted exactly alike. The ropes and rods

may be Rogier's "signature" but he varies their number and positioning to correspond to the architecture of the rooms he creates.[100]

Rogier's depiction of the suspension structures of bed canopies appears more realistic than other artist's representations that do not include these elaborate rope systems. However, when we compare Rogier's beds (as well as those painted by his contemporaries) to inventory descriptions we discover that these representations are selective in nature. Rogier chooses to paint only one specific type of bed in his domestic images when, in reality, fifteenth century homes contained a wide variety of bed forms that the artist could have chosen to depict.

Philippe Contamine discusses the central importance of the bed in the late Medieval household. Contamine uses the phrase "complete bed" to describe the furniture piece most commonly seen in domestic images. He writes, "...the 'complete bed,' represented in numerous works of art, comprised three elements: the wooden bedframe; the bed proper; and the various fabrics that were placed on or hung about the bed to enable a

[100] There are a handful of paintings not produced by Rogier van der Weyden that show the rope and/or rod system of bed canopies but these are isolated examples and no other artist systematically employs this detail in his works.

person to sleep safe from prying eyes and disturbing light and breezes."[101] Contamine notes that the "complete bed" was only one of several types of sleeping pieces found in the fifteenth century home. In fact, many households contained more than one type of bed to suit the needs of different members of the family. In addition to "complete beds," Contamine mentions structures such as rope beds and cots on wheels.

Contamine's discussion of beds excludes an important type of bed found only in the wealthiest households: a structure often called a "presentation bed." Presentation beds were non-functional items, not used for sleeping but used for visual display only. Presentation beds were adorned in expensive textiles and often these textiles were embroidered with heraldic devices. These beds functioned as part of the "furniture of estate" of noble households. Such furnishings existed to visually declare the wealth and social status of the person occupying the rooms where the items were displayed.

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[101] Philippe Contamine, "Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," In *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 490.

Fifteenth century inventories reveal that houses, whether noble or humble, usually contained several different types of beds. Certainly, noble houses filled with courtiers and servants required multiple venues for sleeping. Alienor de Poitier's treatise *Les Honneurs de la Cour* describes the variety of beds found in the suite of rooms of Isabelle of Bourbon that had been furnished for the birth of her daughter in 1456.[102] The first room in the suite contained a "cradle of estate" and the second room a "presentation bed." Alienor describes this as, "...a single large bed whose bedclothes and hangings were ordered as was customary for beds which were not used for sleeping upon." Alienor notes that the textiles adorning this bed were richly embroidered and it is this treatment, combined with the room in which the bed is displayed, that marked the bed as an "estate" piece rather than a functional piece. The third room in the suite contained three beds of two different types. Alienor describes two large beds placed next to each other and decorated with green canopies and drapes of various materials. She states, "The beds were arranged to be used for

[102] For this and the following information on Alienor de Poitier's treatise see Eames, *Furniture in England, France, and the Netherlands*, 268-271. Eames reproduces both the original text and a translation.

sleeping." In addition, Alienor notes, "In front of the fire stood a low couch on castors, like the couches which are stowed beneath other beds. It was arranged to be used for sleeping." The fourth and final room contained the baby's cradle and two more large beds with a shared canopy structure.[103]

Multiple types of sleeping furniture were not confined to the homes of the nobility. Only five rooms are listed in the inventory of the Bruges home of Lisbette Roucx yet the house has four different types of beds. In the antechamber and main chamber are listed mattresses on bedframes with blue woolen bedding. In addition, the main chamber also contains what is described as a deep, couch-type bed (daybed) with blue woolen bedding, and underneath this structure is stored a mattress. Presumably, the mattress could be pulled out from underneath the daybed to provide additional sleeping space. Finally, in the devotional area there is a furniture piece described as a small bed with three cushions draped in blue wool.[104]

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[103] Eames, Furniture in England, France, and the Netherlands, 268-271.
[104] "Inventaris van Lisbette Roucx," 46.

As mentioned previously, in light of fifteenth century inventory descriptions the beds depicted by Rogier van der Weyden in his domestic images are selective in nature. The simple woolen cloth that adorns all of Rogier's painted beds clearly indicates that these were not items of estate but were intended to represent the types of functional beds used for sleeping. However, inventories reveal that Rogier would have had a wide selection of functional-type bed structures to choose from. Rogier's selection of the "complete bed" as the furnishing of choice for his images of bedrooms perhaps indicates his development of a hallmark item independent of the furniture arrangements found in the paintings of the Campin circle.

**Gerard David: Selective Views as Signature**

During the first several decades of the sixteenth century Gerard David and his workshop produced multiple copies of a popular devotional image commonly referred to as the *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* (figs. 32-35). The composition remains consistent from image to image. It shows the Virgin Mary placed to the left of the composition with

the Christ Child in her lap. In the left background just behind the Virgin is a dresser; the right background is composed of a bench articulated with Gothic trefoil arches placed below a window. In the right foreground of the image is a table that holds a bowl of soup, an apple, a loaf of bread, and a knife. The Virgin is captured at the moment she is scooping the soup into a spoon, presumably to feed the Christ Child. The action of the Virgin, combined with the furnishings shown in the images, suggests that David's devotional scenes take place in a dining room. The close-up view of the Virgin and Child engaging in such an ordinary moment can clearly be seen as an attempt to link devotional experience to everyday life. However, closer examination of the images reveals that Gerard David selected particular segments of the contemporary home to include in his composition as a means of constructing a visual signature in his popular devotional paintings.

Maryan Ainsworth's recent technical studies of the images of Gerard David may offer convincing evidence for the existence of "signature spaces" in the paintings of fifteenth century Netherlandish artists. Infrared reflectograms of three of the *Virgin and Child with Milk*

*Soup* images reveal that David and his workshop used a pattern to outline the major forms in these paintings. Evidence of pouncing (that indicates the use of pricked cartoons in the David workshop) was found in all of the *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* compositions examined by Ainsworth.[105] It is interesting that the infrared reflectograms show underdrawn lines for both the figures and the furnishings, perhaps indicating that the objects forming the setting for the composition were just as important as the style of the figures in declaring the hand of the master.

In her analysis of the *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* images Maryan Ainsworth discusses Gerard David's motivation for developing the composition. She writes:

> It is David's production of the paintings of the *Virgin and Child with the Milk Soup* that establishes him as fully in tune with the market opportunities of the day. Astutely assessing the popular appeal of more secular representations of the Virgin and Child and the growing taste of models derived from Italian art, David perhaps tried to corner the market with what he anticipated would be a bestseller. In this way he may have attempted to create, rather than simply to respond to, new tastes in art.[106]

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[105] Maryan Ainsworth, *Gerard David: Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 295.
[106] Ainsworth, *Gerard David*, 295.

If Gerard David was trying to create a composition that would gain popular success through its references to the secular world then his choice of a dining room as the setting is significant. Antoon Viaene has written about the importance of the dining room in Netherlandish houses in the later fifteenth century and notes that this space was the "showplace" of middle-class Flemish homes.[107] During the fifteenth century the dining room of middle-class structures served multiple functions in the household and its furnishings and contents reflect the multiplicity of uses for this space. Dining rooms were usually located in the front of the house and this location logically led to the use of dining rooms as sitting and reception areas for visitors. In addition, many dining rooms contained not only tables for dining but cots and/or beds that provided sleeping space. Viaene comments that the display of objects in the fifteenth century dining room made it a space that, "...always spoke of the luxury of the middle-class house."[108] Thus, David's signature space not only references his

[107] Antoon Viaene, "Woning en Handwerk: Bouwstoffen voor een archeologisch glossarium." *Biekorf*: *Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 62 (1961): 416.
[108] Viaene, "Woning en Handwerk," 416.

identity but perhaps cleverly markets his images through its sophistication.

As with Rogier van der Weyden's depictions of beds discussed above, Gerard David's representations of dining rooms are selective in their character. David chooses to show only three pieces of furniture in his *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* images: a dresser, a table, and a bench. Furthermore, David does not show these furnishings in their full form but instead reveals only portions of their structure. This manner of representation offers the viewer of David's images only a glimpse of some of the objects commonly found in fifteenth century middle-class dining rooms.

An examination of three middle-class inventories that list the contents of rooms specifically identified as dining rooms reveals the selectivity of Gerard David's depictions of these spaces. The authenticity of the furniture pieces shown in David's *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* images is confirmed when examining the objects placed in the dining rooms of the homes of Thuriaen van Rebeke, Jacob Balderan, and Jacob

Vrombout.[109] The dining rooms in each of these houses all contain the furnishings represented in David's paintings: dressers, benches, and tables. However, the inventories show that there were many other items in the dining rooms as well. There are no fewer than twenty objects contained in each of these dining rooms. In fact, the dining rooms of Jacob Balderan and Jacob Vrombout had beds in addition to what we would consider today to be dining furniture. As with Rogier van der Weyden's selective views of Netherlandish beds, Gerard David's concentration on three particular furnishings associated with dining spaces is not intended to mirror perfectly actual practice but instead is intended to create a "signature space" composed of realistically rendered objects to visually identify the hand of the master and his workshop.

[109] Viaene, "Figurative Vroomheid," 271-274, Antoon Viaene, "In het Sterfhuis von Kanunnik Vrombout Brugge 1510," *Biekorf: Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 65 (1964), 339-342, and Antoon Viaene, "Woning en Huisraad van Jakob Balderan: Pastoor van Sint-Janskerk te Brugge 1460," *Biekorf: Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Folklore* 69 (1968), 338.

**The Bouts Workshop and Joos van Cleve: The Documentary Function of Devotional Spaces**

> As prominent individuals became increasingly interested in furnishing their family chapels with monumental painted altarpieces, others within the community apparently also wished to acquire devotional paintings in less monumental form, presumably for placement in smaller chapels within churches or possibly within domestic spaces reserved for private prayer and meditation.[110]

A handful of Netherlandish paintings contain depictions of devotional spaces such as those proposed in the above quote by Jean Wilson. An interesting characteristic of the images that represent prayer spaces within a domestic interior is their suggestion of the extension or existence of space beyond the devotional area. It is these distant views or brief glimpses of rooms adjoining the devotional space that often serve to identify firmly the setting of the image as domestic rather than ecclesiastical. In addition to promoting the link between domesticity and devotion, these images also reference the identity of specific painters.

Fifteenth century Flemish paintings showing specific devotional areas set off from other spaces seem to originate in the workshop of Dieric

[110] Jean C. Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1998), 87-88.

Bouts and his sons. The Bouts circle produced variations on two compositional types that illustrate private devotional spaces. Both compositions depict the Annunciation with the Virgin shown before an assemblage of objects that imply a specific space in the room reserved for prayer. The first compositional type (fig. 36) shows the Virgin kneeling before a prie-dieu placed underneath a wall cabinet or a niche with shelves. In this compositional schema the room has windows and a door that are open revealing views beyond their frames. Looking through the windows the viewer gazes upon distant landscape vistas. Looking through the door, however, reveals either an enclosed garden area or a tile floor indicating another room or hallway.

The second compositional type (fig. 37) is employed in Annunciation scenes attributed to Albert Bouts and shows a much more elaborate devotional space. The Virgin is represented standing in a room with a vaulted ceiling. The architecture of the room is embellished with Gothic tracery and a window that projects outward is formed by a series of delicate pointed arches. The Virgin stands before this window. A prayer bench draped in a cloth and topped by a closed book with metal

clasps separates the Virgin from the window. Placed on the deep sill of the window are an open book and a small scale devotional painting composed of multiple panels. The painted panels are framed on either side by small curtains made of sumptuous embroidered cloth. The view from the diamond paned and bottle glass windows in the vaulted room is obscured but space beyond the vaulted chamber is seen through the doorway in the composition. This door offers the viewer a glimpse of a tiled hall floor and in some of the compositions even shows a room at the end of the hall containing a window and a bench.

Followers of the Bouts school would expand on the images of the masters by combining the two compositions. The exterior wings of the *Altarpiece of Ehningen* (fig. 38) by a follower of Dieric Bouts illustrate the blending of the two prototypes. The *Ehningen Annunciation* adopts the kneeling pose of the Virgin, the shelving unit set into the wall, and the landscape vista seen through the window on the right from the Dieric Bouts composition. From Albert Bouts the artist incorporates the projecting window area with devotional panel paintings, the embroidered framing cloth, and the Gothic style architectural details.

The domestic character of the images produced by Bouts and his followers comes in large part from peripheral objects and views in the scenes. Although the Bouts school does not totally abandon iconographic symbolism, it is tempered when compared to earlier images of the Annunciation. Noticeably absent in the Bouts school images are objects such as basins, ewers, and linen towels seen in the *Merode Annunciation* (fig. 7) by Robert Campin and the *Ghent Annunciation* (fig. 12) by Jan van Eyck. The liturgical associations connected to these items are thus not present in the Bouts images. The devotional space and the objects it contains are therefore clearly not to be used for the performance of the Mass. Bouts' spaces are intended as areas for private prayer and contemplation. In addition to the absence of liturgical vessels, the doors in Bouts' Annunciation images seem to function beyond the narrative implication of the arrival or entrance of the angel Gabriel. It is the world glimpsed beyond these openings that roots the space in a domestic environment.

Depictions of private devotional spaces within a domestic context were not limited to images produced by the Bouts school. The workshop

of Joos van Cleve was also prolific in its production of paintings that depict interior space reserved for devotional purposes. However, the devotional areas represented in Joos van Cleve's paintings were quite different in their composition from those depicted by the Bouts school. Joos van Cleve seems to have been interested in creating multiple venues for devotional practice throughout his painted interior settings.

In a catalogue entry about Joos van Cleve's *Annunciation* (fig. 39) Maryan Ainsworth writes:

> Here objects with symbolic meaning are not prominently placed to demand attention as they are in the Annunciation panel of the Merode Triptych; rather they are disposed unobtrusively within the domestic interior in much the same way sixteenth-century viewers of the painting might have arranged them in their own homes. Thus Joos emphasizes how these objects would have been used as part of daily devotional practice.[111]

Ainsworth draws attention to the variety of devotional activities that could be conducted in Joos van Cleve's painted room. The Virgin is shown at a prie-dieu. In keeping with iconographical tradition the

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[111] Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christainsen, ed., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 364.

archangel Gabriel has interrupted the Virgin as she kneels at prayer with her Book of Hours. However, Joos van Cleve's bedchamber and its contents offer the Virgin other avenues for devotional practice. In addition to the prie-dieu, there is a cabinet displaying a triptych and a small print tacked to the wall that could both be used as focal points for prayer in the home.

Other compositions by Joos van Cleve show similar arrangements. In two different depictions of the *Death of the Virgin* (figs. 40-41) Joos van Cleve has represented separate areas for devotional practice within the space of a single room. In both compositions the viewer sees a small table displaying a prayer book and rosary beads in the foreground of the composition. Looking past the bed the Virgin lies on, the viewer finds another devotional area against the far wall consisting of a cabinet with a devotional triptych placed on top.

The workshops of Dieric Bouts and Joos van Cleve both produced images of interior settings with specific areas used for the display of objects that functioned in a devotional capacity. Furthermore, each of these masters created groupings of objects in their compositions to create

"signature spaces" that identify the originating workshop or circle of the images. Were these devotional "signature spaces" based on actual practice or did these artists invent them? Did fifteenth century Flemish homes contain spaces or groupings of objects that were used for private prayer such as those depicted in the Bouts and van Cleve images?

Descriptions of separate rooms set aside for devotional use such as those depicted in the Bouts school images are rarely found in middle class inventories. The 1462 inventory of the home of Lisbette Roucx in Bruges does mention such a devotional space but only records two objects within it: a small coffer and a small bed with a blue covering and three blue cushions.[112] Draped and cushioned benches or daybeds of the type described in Lisbette Roucx's inventory are present in all of the Bouts *Annunciation* images although these items are not the center of devotional attention in the paintings.

Middle-class inventories seem to indicate that some Netherlandish home owners did distribute objects throughout the space of a room in keeping with the manner depicted in the Joos van Cleve images. The 1480

[112] "Inventaris van Lisbette Roucx," 46.

inventory of the Bruges home of Luuc van Slingerhand describes a room containing several paintings on cloth. One of these images was displayed above the bed while others were placed in storage elsewhere in the room.[113] In the same year, an inventory of the Bruges home of Thuriaen van Rebeke revealed a similar distribution of objects throughout the space of the room. Van Rebeke's inventory records that his dining room contained a statue of the Trinity above one window and a statue of Mary with a small metal candlestick beside it placed over another window. Above the door of the room were two statues: one of Mary and the other a crucifix.[114]

The language of the inventories of Luuc van Slingerhand and Thuriaen van Rebeke indicates that certain art objects in their possession were displayed in a manner that provided constant, unhindered viewing. In Joos van Cleve's *Annunciation* scene this type of display is exemplified by the colored print of Moses hanging in plain view on the back wall of the bedchamber. However, other inventory descriptions indicate that art objects (particularly those with a religious iconography) were covered

[113] Viaene, "Figurative Vroomheid," 271-274.
[114] Viaene, "Figurative Vroomheid," 271-274.

from constant view. Protective wings or a frame, case, or curtain sheltered the work of art from constant exposure and required that the viewer take an active role in unveiling the object for viewing. This type of display is implied in the devotional arrangements of both Joos van Cleve and the Bouts workshop. The prayer books in the foreground of van Cleve's *Death of the Virgin* images are shown placed over a protective fabric bag; while the wings of the triptychs in both the *Death of the Virgin* and the *Annunciation* compositions are shown either closed or at an angle to suggest their protective function. The open cabinets shown in the *Annunciation* images attributed to Dieric Bouts suggest that the Virgin has removed objects for use at her prayers while the fabric curtains on rods to either side of the small devotional panels depicted in the Albert Bouts *Annunciations* could perhaps have been drawn in front of the images after prayers were completed.

Several middle-class inventories describe works of art that were stored or protected. As mentioned above, the 1480 inventory of the home of Luuc van Slingerhand notes that several paintings on cloth were placed in storage. In addition, a 1504 inventory of the home of Wouter de

Stighere lists among his belongings a statue of the Virgin Mary in a small case with a blue curtain. Also listed is a statue depicting the *Ecce Homo*. The inventory taker notes that this statue was also stored in a case but does not mention any fabric covering.[115]

Certainly, the unhindered view of devotional objects in the Bouts and van Cleve images could indicate that the figures in the paintings are engaged in the act of devotion. However, as with Campin's towels, Rogier van der Weyden's beds, and Gerard David's select furniture pieces, the particular display of items in the Bouts and van Cleve images may also serve to define the character of their domestic spaces and identify them with their particular workshops. Furthermore, the representation of devotional spaces and the art associated with them by the Bouts and van Cleve workshops may also communicate an important element in the self-conception (and subsequent self-promotion) of panel painters at the time: their key role in producing objects for personal devotion. This issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

[115] Viaene, "Figurative Vroomheid," 271-274.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Signature Objects: Blending Decoration, Iconography, and Identity

Erwin Panofsky's 1934 article on Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5) and the "disguised symbolism" contained within it sparked heated debates about the issues of reality and symbolism in Netherlandish paintings.[116] The overwhelmingly religious nature of Northern Renaissance imagery combined with Panofsky's interpretive schema has led many scholars to analyze objects in compositions in terms of their potential religious import. However, symbolism is not restricted to the sacred sphere. In the following chapters a statistical study of 287 Netherlandish paintings with domestic settings will be used to discuss the potential messages about artistic identity conveyed by the items artists placed in their compositions.

The following table summarizes the number of times a particular object appears in a painting in both raw numbers and overall percentages:

[116] Erwin Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," 117-127.

Table 1: Frequency of Occurrence of Specific Objects in Paintings with Domestic Interior Settings

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Furniture** | **238/287** | **83%** |
| **Textiles** | **228/287** | **79%** |
| **Books** | **184/287** | **64%** |
| **Metal Vessels** | **148/287** | **52%** |
| **Candle Holders** | **81/287** | **28%** |
| **Glass Vessels** | **48/287** | **17%** |
| **Stained Glass** | **38/287** | **13%** |
| **Majolica** | **27/287** | **9%** |
| **Sculpture** | **22/287** | **8%** |
| **Panel Paintings** | **18/287** | **7%** |
| **Oriental Rugs** | **23/287** | **8%** |
| **Heraldic Devices** | **12/287** | **4%** |
| **Mirrors** | **11/287** | **4%** |
| **Prints** | **7/287** | **2%** |
| **Tapestries** | **7/287** | **2%** |
| **Cloth Paintings** | **0/287** | **0%** |

An in-depth analysis of these and additional statistics will reveal that artists rarely placed items in their images randomly to fill or decorate space. While the traditional iconographic readings of some objects need not be dismissed, looking at a broad selection of paintings shows that painters often selected objects to promote their craft or to identify themselves, their workshops, and their artistic heritage. Thus, just as some masters composed "signature spaces" others opted for "signature objects."

**Manipulating Reality to Promote Panel Painting: Paintings on Cloth, Furniture, and Sculpture**

Traditional scholarship on Netherlandish art often assumes a rather narrow definition of the word "painting." Early studies and general surveys focused primarily on panel paintings.[117] In recent years scholars have attempted to broaden our understanding of the variety of painting types fifteenth century artists produced. We know that Netherlandish artists practiced their craft on a variety of supports – not just wooden panels. Painted images during the fifteenth century appeared on parchment pages, stained glass, heraldic shields and crests, walls, furnishings, sculptures and cloth.[118] The diversity of painters is reflected in a section of Karel Van Mander's biography of Hans Holbein. Van Mander writes:

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[117] Julien Chapuis suggests that art historians' focus on panel paintings originated with the 1902 exhibit "Les Primitifs flamands et l'art ancien" in Bruges which heavily promoted panel paintings over other types of art. Julien Chapuis, "Early Netherlandish Painting: Shifting Perspectives," In *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Maryan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 3. The issue was also presented by Martha Wolff in her address to the 2002 Historians of Netherlandish Art conference in Antwerp. See "The State of Research in Fifteenth-Century Netherlandish Art," http://www.hnanews.org/2002/wolff.htm.

[118] Lorne Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century," 189,191.

> Besides his pictures, he made designs for goldsmiths, for other painters, for wood engravers, and for sculptors; and what he modelled in wax was also excellent. Holbein could work in almost any medium as well as in oil and water-color, and he could do illuminating in a masterly fashion.[119]

Were fifteenth century painters interested in promoting and demonstrating the versatility and wider applicability of their craft? Several factors suggest that they were not. Lorne Campbell has researched the structures and regulations of fifteenth century painters' guilds and has noted that in many cities the organizational structure of guilds was directly linked to the primary support its members painted on. Furthermore, Campbell cites several instances in which painters of one particular support attempted to limit the power of other painters who were viewed as encroaching upon their particular specialty.[120] This organizational structure and the resulting competition between painters who worked on different supports may account for the inclusion or exclusion or particular presentation of objects depicted in Netherlandish paintings of domestic interiors. I believe that many Netherlandish panel

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[119] Van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, 89. In addition, Jean Wilson discusses the variety of work (in particular decorative projects) executed by painters. See Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 143-147.
[120] Campbell, "Art Market," 191.

painters attempted to limit competition from other types of painters not only through the organization of guild structures and the filing of lawsuits but also visually through their paintings. In addition, I believe artists often manipulated their depictions of objects in order to assert the primacy of panel painting over other types of painting.

Perhaps the best example of this attempt to limit competition and to promote the medium of panel painting through visual means can be seen in the exclusion of depictions of paintings on cloth in the domestic settings rendered on painted panels. There are 287 panel paintings in the first twelve volumes of the Friedländer corpus with homes used as backdrops. None of these images contains a representation of a painting on cloth and this seems rather remarkable due to the immense popularity of these items during the fifteenth century. Karel Van Mander writes in his account of Rogier van der Weyden, "In this period it was the custom to paint large cloths with images and to decorate rooms with these cloths in place of tapestries."[121] Van Mander's comment is supported by archival documents pertaining to the production of such works of art. Diane

[121] Van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters,* 16.

Wolfthal has examined the fifteenth century records of the Painters' Guild of St. Luke in Bruges and discovered that painters were divided into two categories: *schilders* and *cleederscrivers*. The *schilders* were the panel painters and made up approximately sixty percent of the members of the guild. The *cleederscrivers* were the cloth painters and made up the other forty percent.[122] *Cleederscrivers* were prohibited by Guild regulations from painting on panel, however, *schilders* could paint on cloth.[123]

Clearly if forty percent of the Guild of St. Luke in Bruges was made up of *cleederscrivers,* and *schilders* could also paint on cloth, then it is unusual that such works of art are not portrayed in representations of fifteenth century domestic interiors. Furthermore, it is clear from guild records and inventories that paintings on cloth, called *bescreven cleederen*, were primarily produced for the domestic market. Wolfthal notes that a

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[122] Diane Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Early Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6.

[123] Although Wolfthal's study focuses on guild regulations in the city of Bruges the painting of cloth supports by panel painters was most likely practiced in other cities as well. Van Mander mentions that Rogier van der Weyden (who worked in Louvain and Brussels) executed paintings on cloth and even comments that, "...Herein was he a good master." Van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, 89.

1444 Bruges court ruling declared that *cleederscrivers* were limited to accepting commissions from homes or shops.[124]

Investigations of inventories of households in Bruges during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reveal that paintings on cloth were extremely popular and were found even in the humblest of homes. For example, a 1467 inventory of the house of Adolf Hoonin in Bruges lists only twenty-two possessions of the deceased. Two of the twenty-two objects found in Hoonin's home were *bescreven cleederen* or paintings on cloth. The Hoonin inventory is very abbreviated in its language and does not tell us anything about the subject matter of the images. They are listed amongst the contents of the larger of two rooms included in the inventory. This room contained a majority of the household furnishings and held the bed, two chairs, a dresser, bench, and stool.[125] The inclusion of the two images in the listing of Hoonin's belongings indicates that *bescreven cleederen* were considered to have some value within the estate.

Most inventories of middle-class homes were conducted room-by-room and typically sections begin with the phrase, "In the [name of

[124] Wolfthal, *Beginnings*, 6.
[125] *Biekorf* vol. 63, 304.

room]…." The inventory taker then went on to list the objects found. In the specific case of *bescreven cleederen* this methodology allows us insight into where these objects were commonly found. For example, Lisbette Roucx's Bruges household inventory of 1462 lists four rooms and a devotional area in its text. Two *bescreven cleederen* are recorded. The first is found in the entry room of the house. It is listed along with a coffer, bench, brazier, dresser, table, and grouping of stools around a game table. The second painting on cloth is located in an antechamber leading to the bedroom. It is recorded amongst objects such as a bed, coffers, cushions, table and chairs, and bench.[126] Similarly, a 1499 inventory of the Bruges home of Jooris Boghaert records that a painting on cloth was located in an antechamber of the house.[127] Neither the Roucx nor Boghaert inventories specifies the subject matter of the *bescreven cleederen* or their exact positioning in the room.

The language of some household inventories of the fifteenth century is more specific and offers a better picture of how *bescreven cleederen* were stored and/or displayed in the Netherlandish home. For

[126] *Biekorf* vol. 64, 46.
[127] *Biekorf* vol. 64, 271-274.

instance, the 1480 inventory of the Bruges home of Luuc van Slingerhand describes, "diverse painted cloths over the bed and in storage."[128] This reference indicates that some *bescreven cleederen* were probably placed out in a room for continuous viewing while others were put away.

The two inventories that give the most specific information about *bescreven cleederen* are those conducted in 1476 and 1477 in the homes of Claeys Lavezuene and Pieter van Theimsche. These inventory descriptions record not only the location of the paintings on cloth owned by these fifteenth century citizens but also their subject matter. Claeys Lavezuene's estate contained three *bescreven cleederen*. These paintings on cloth were found in the dining room. One painting depicted the Crucifixion, the second represented a young lady, and the third displayed St. George.[129] Pieter van Theimsche's home had six *bescreven cleederen* including represention of saints Margaret, Michael, and Christopher as well as images of the Virgin Mary and the Crucifixion. As in the

[128] *Biekorf* vol. 64, 271-274.
[129] *Biekorf* vol. 64, 271-274.

household of Claeys Lavezuene, all of Pieter van Theimsche's paintings on cloth were recorded as being found in the dining room.[130]

The examples of fifteenth century homes containing paintings on cloth offered above make the exclusion of these objects in painted interiors surprising. The inventory descriptions indicate that *bescreven cleederen* were displayed throughout the different rooms of Netherlandish households which excludes the possibility that Flemish painters were not representing these items because they were not in keeping with actual practice. It seems apparent that the panel painters who created images of fifteenth century interior spaces deliberately excluded *bescreven cleederen* from their images so as not to promote the products of their competitors. Furthermore, the guild regulations imposed upon the *cleederscrivers* suggest that they did not merit either the freedom or prestige of those designated as panel painters. Thus, the absence of depictions of paintings on cloth in pictures painted on panel could have indicated a type of artistic elitism on the part of the *schilders.*

[130] *Biekorf* vol. 64, 271-274.

**The opposite end of the statistical chart: furniture**

A similar type of motivation to that discussed above can also be applied to a study of the objects that most frequently appear in Flemish paintings of domestic interiors: furnishings. Pieces of furniture are shown in 83% of the homes represented in fifteenth and early sixteenth century panel paintings.[131] Some scholars suggest that the inclusion of these furnishings reflected a specific request on the part of the patron.[132] Often cited in support of this opinion is the 1448 contract for the altarpiece of the Abbey of Flines. Although this was a contract for a carved rather than a painted work of art, its language and provisions reflect those commonly found in documents related to paintings. The Abbey of Flines agreement specifically instructs the artist, Ricquart de Valenciennes, to depict a bed in the form used by, "seigneurs et bourgois" and a chair in the style of those produced in Flanders and Brabant with a high back and decorative carving.[133] While this contract is somewhat specific in describing the form

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[131] Domestic paintings that do not include depictions of furniture are usually close-up portraits of individuals, the Virgin and Child, or the Holy Family placed next to a window or wall that is clearly not ecclesiastical in its materials, construction, or decoration. I have considered such images "domestic" for the purposes of my study.
[132] See, for example, Harbison, *Mirror of the Artist*, 27.
[133] Campbell, "Art Market," 192-193.

and carving of the chair, it does not mention another type of decoration commonly found on fifteenth century furniture pieces: paint.

Most of the extant furniture pieces dating to the fifteenth century in museum collections are unpainted. Penelope Eames has noted that this unpainted state does not reflect their original condition but is largely the result of nineteenth century "restorations" which commonly removed pigment and gold leaf decorations on furnishings. Eames describes two different types of painted decoration commonly found on fifteenth century furniture. On some pieces, painted decoration was confined either to the wrought iron hardware or to smaller areas of carving on the object. Other pieces were completely painted with heraldic devices, decorative motifs, or narrative scenes. Few of these fully painted furnishings survive, and those that do are in poor condition.[134]

Eames has noted that careful examination of the crevices or carved areas of extant fifteenth century furnishings usually results in a discovery of traces of pigments or gilding that were missed by restorers who

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[134] Eames, *Furniture in England, France, and the Netherlands*, 231. The use of paint as decoration on fifteenth century furnishings is also discussed by Eric Mercer. See Eric Mercer, *Furniture 700-1700* (New York: Meredith Press, 1969), 86.

stripped pieces of this original decoration.[135] This suggests that many furnishings had at least a touch of color or gold applied to them. It is surprising then, that most of the furniture pieces depicted in the households of Netherlandish paintings are shown unpainted. Why would panel paintings depicting furniture omit this aspect of their decoration?

As with the case of *bescreven cleederen*, I would suggest that the lack of depictions of painted furnishings in panel paintings reflects a type of artistic elitism and economic promotion on the part of the *schilders*. While fifteenth century painters clearly engaged in a variety of decorative painting projects, such commissions usually involved artistic collaboration between guilds that often fought to protect their spheres of economic interest.[136] Furthermore, such projects did not necessarily promote the individual style or skills of the *schilder's* workshop as overtly and effectively as panel paintings.

In the case of furnishings, as many as four different parties could be involved in the production of a single piece. Joiners crafted wooden panels, metal workers produced hinges and locks, carpenters assembled

[135] Eames, *Furniture in England, France, and the Netherlands*, 231.
[136] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 143-147.

the form and executed decorative carving, and painters applied pigments and gilding.[137] While very little is known about the specifics of the commissioning and production of furnishings during the fifteenth century it appears that the party ultimately responsible for negotiating contracts with patrons and supervising the completion of the work to contract specifications was the joiner or carpenter.[138] Painters, therefore, were most often contracted separately to add pigments to a finished furniture piece.[139]

Painters simply eliminated depictions of paintings on cloth in their domestic images so as not to visually promote these items. This was not as easy to do with furnishings as chests, chairs, benches, beds and tables were objects that helped to construct and define domestic settings.

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[137] Documents indicate that in the city of Bruges joiners were allowed to carve relief decorations that were physically part of the furniture form. However, any type of appliqué ornament was the privilege of sculptors. John W. Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 1994), 15.
[138] Eames, *Furniture in England, France, and the Netherlands*, 233-234 and Mercer, *Furniture 700-1700*, 85. Mercer states that in Holland and France carpenters and joiners were in the same guild. In Holland this was the case until the sixteenth century. Eames notes that the distinction between the tasks of joiners and carpenters is often fuzzy and varied according to local guild regulations but clearly painters and joiners/carpenters were separated and that painters applied gilding and/or polychromy to furniture pieces.
[139] Eames cites separate payments made to different types of craftsmen recorded in the account books of the Duke of Burgundy. See Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands*, 232 and footnote 576.

However, panel painters could exclude the painted decorations on furnishings in their images to downplay this aspect of the *schilders* art and promote the primacy of painting on panels.[140]

**The Middle of the Chart: Sculpture**

Netherlandish panel painters approached the depiction of sculpture in their images in the same way they approached their depictions of furnishings. As with furniture, most fifteenth century sculptural pieces were painted. However, the Flemish panel paintings that include works of sculpture in their domestic settings show the statues unpainted.[141] Once again, I would suggest that this deviation from reality reflects a desire on the part of the *schilders* to promote paintings on panel above paintings on other supports.

Guild regulations prevented sculptors from painting the statues they produced. As with furniture pieces, a painter had to be contracted

[140] It is interesting to consider that early museum curators and conservators, taking their cues from depictions of furnishings in panel paintings, may have been more inclined to remove paint from extant fifteenth century furnishings.
[141] In compiling my statistical study I considered the Crucifix in the window of Hieronymous Bosch's "Death and the Miser" as a sculpture, however the rays of light surrounding it indicate that it is more likely a vision. If it is a sculpture then it is the only one shown painted.

separately to apply polychromy to sculpture. In fact, regulations passed in Bruges in 1432 prevented sculptors from subcontracting polychrome services from painters. Further judgments regarding the two groups were handed down in 1454 and limited each guild to only contracting and selling its own specialty product.[142] Similar disputes arose in the city of Brussels during the fifteenth century. In 1454 the Brussels painters attempted to prevent sculptors from controlling the sale of polychromed altarpieces. This dispute was ultimately settled in favor of the sculptors who were not only permitted to sell the altarpieces but were also allowed to negotiate sub-contracts with painters to execute the polychromy.[143]

Depicting unpainted statues in their images of domestic settings served not only to downplay the practice of polychromy but also served to highlight the skill of painters in rendering objects with realistic textures. In representing unpainted sculptures in their images, panel painters were able to demonstrate their proficiency in the use of the grisaille technique to create the illusion of stone. Promoting grisaille over polychromy was most likely in the economic interest of painters. In the early years of the

[142] Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture*, 15.
[143] Henk van Os, *Netherlandish Art in the Rijksmuseum*, 245.

fifteenth century most major altarpiece commissions were executed either in an entirely sculptural format or in a combination of sculpture and panel painting. In either case, the commissioning of a large-scale altarpiece required the patron to contract with three independent parties: the joiner made the case or framing support for the altarpiece, the sculptor executed figural and decorative carvings, and the painter polychromed sculptural forms or painted panels. Panel painters skilled in depicting statuary in grisaille could offer patrons the best of both worlds – altarpieces that acknowledged the traditional sculptural altarpiece form without having to pay an extra master.

Millard Meiss suggests a similar motivation, perhaps driven less by economic considerations than by artistic pride, in his discussion of Jan van Eyck's *Dresden Triptych* (figs. 16 and 42). He states:

> For a spectator of Jan's time, the style of the church and the sculpture recalled a great Christian period, more devout and less troubled than the present. But is there latent also in the comparison of the living Virgin and the inert, outmoded statue a subtle reference to the painter's own artistic achievements, to his progress beyond his predecessors? This suggestion may seem less fantastic if we recall that the mirror in the Arnolfini portrait and in a lost work seems to express, beyond its other connotations, Jan's awareness of a new relation

of his art to actuality.[144]

The exclusion of painted decoration on furniture and sculpture and the elimination of paintings on cloth from Netherlandish images places a unique signature of superiority on panel paintings by the artists who created them. As we will see in the following sections, on the rare occasions when the *schilders* included other painted imagery in their compositions it represented either iconographic necessity or the production of the image in a city with less stringent guild regulations towards other types of art.

**Iconographic Exceptions: Books and Prints**

The lack of paintings on cloth and the depictions of unpainted furniture and sculpture in panel paintings can be explained in terms of the competition between artists' guilds and the attempt on the part of the *schilders* to promote panel painting above painting on other supports. A similar case may be made for the limited appearance of manuscript illuminations and prints in panel paintings. In addition, those artists who

[144] Millard Meiss, "Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 181.

do display manuscript illuminations or prints in their compositions have clearly made an exception to the rule in order to communicate a specific iconographic or geographical message.

Table 2 shows that books are depicted in 184 of the 287 paintings with domestic interiors as their setting. However, when these books are looked at closely a new set of statistics can be generated that reveals significant data about exactly how artists rendered these items.

**Table 2: Depictions of Books**[145]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Book shown open with text visible on pages** | **122 /184** | **66%** |
| **Book shown closed** | **59/184** | **32%** |
| **Book shown open but positioned so only cover or edge is shown** | **13/184** | **7%** |
| **Book shown open but pages unclear** | **12/184** | **6.5%** |
| **Book shown open with visible image/illumination on pages** | **9/184** | **5%** |

The above table shows that while books were often included in domestic images they were most often painted only with words on the pages. Only nine paintings show a book with a clearly visible full-page illumination. Why are so many books represented in paintings but only

[145] The numbers in the table add up to more than 184 as some images show multiple books.

5% show an illumination? Again, artistic competition is the most likely explanation. Lorne Campbell and Jean Wilson have both discussed the many lawsuits filed by the panel painters of Bruges against the manuscript illuminators. In the first half of the fifteenth century manuscript illuminators, like painters on cloth, belonged to the painters' Guild of St. Luke. Yet, like the *cleederscrivers*, the manuscript illuminators faced restrictions on their artistic production and activity by the *schilders.* Illuminators were prevented from working with oil paints and gold or silver leaf. Furthermore, the *schilders* objected to manuscript illuminators purchasing full-page illuminations produced by artists in other cities. While the illuminators claimed that these images were acquired to be incorporated into the bodies of manuscripts, the *schilders* were concerned that the miniatures would be framed or attached to wooden supports and sold as independent pictures. Even after the illuminators were granted permission to form their own guild in 1454 the *schilders* continued to pursue restrictions that would limit competition and protect the economic sphere of panel paintings.[146]

[146] Campbell, "Art Market," 190 and Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 37-38.

Documents dated 1403, 1426, and 1456 are evidence of the legal attempts made by the *schilders* of Bruges to control artistic competition amongst various classes of painters in the city. These legal maneuvers were reinforced through depictions of books in their paintings. None of the nine paintings that show full-page illuminations on the pages of books in their compositions was produced by a Bruges artist. When the pages of books in panel paintings produced in Bruges are visible, they show only lines of text and avoid depictions of illuminations.

As mentioned above, nine of the manuscripts that appear in the 184 paintings with books in their compositions clearly show an image painted on the page. However, this number can be considered inflated as seven of the nine paintings are copies of a composition depicting St. Jerome by Marinus van Reymerswaele. The other two domestic paintings that show manuscript illuminations on the pages are a St. Jerome by Quentin Massys and an Annunciation by Joos van Cleve. It is significant that eight of the nine paintings depict St. Jerome and all nine were produced in the city of Antwerp during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Elizabeth Honig has discussed the fact that the painters' guild in Antwerp differed

somewhat from those in other cities. She notes, "...although the corporation struggled throughout the century to control the art market, it certainly did not limit competition among its own members as did some guilds; rather, it provided a framework within which individual entrepreneurship could flourish."[147]

Although Antwerp may have offered an environment where painters felt more comfortable depicting works of art produced by their competitors, the fact that eight of the nine manuscript illuminations shown in panel paintings are seen in images of St. Jerome strongly suggests that these pictures served an iconographic function.

**Prints**

Prints, or more specifically woodcuts, appear in only seven of the 287 images with domestic settings. All seven of the depicted woodcuts are shown colored and are displayed in the same manner, affixed to a wall, in their painted settings. As with manuscripts discussed above, the limited number of prints in panel paintings combined with their display

[147] Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 14.

method indicates that artists avoided representations of these objects to limit artistic competition; and those who did place prints in their compositions did so to communicate a specific iconographic message.

The production of prints was a relatively new industry during the fifteenth century and those artists who specialized in the new medium were not easily incorporated into the existing guild systems of many cities. The great variety of tools and raw materials used by printmakers challenged a majority of guild structures that classified membership based upon the character of materials being worked.[148] A document from 1452 records a dispute regarding guild membership in the city of Louvain. Members of the carpenters' guild argued that printers who formed letters and pictures in wood blocks should belong to their guild.[149] Guild membership designations were complicated by the fact that, as with sculpture and furniture, the creation of prints often involved multiple craftsmen. Fifteenth century documents from several cities use multiple terms to describe those involved in different stages of the printing process.

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[148] David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 7.
[149] Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to the History of Woodcut* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), 83.

For example, in the city of Antwerp documents record both *printere* (printers) and *verwere* or *tinctor* (colorers).[150]

As with manuscript illuminations (especially those of the single sheet variety), prints represented a form of economic competition for traditional panel painters. Arthur Hind notes that prints could be affixed to wooden panels as a cheaper alternative to the traditional painted altarpiece or devotional panel.[151] Thus, traditional panel painters may have restricted the number of prints they displayed in their compositions as a way of limiting competition.

The seven paintings that do display prints in their compositions all show them affixed to the wall so that their subject matter is clearly visible. This type of conspicuous display of woodcuts within painted images strongly suggests that they served an iconographic function within the painting. This possibility seems even more likely when we consider the fact that prints were displayed in many different manners. Peter Parshall has discussed that early collectors of prints often pasted them into existing

[150] Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 81.
[151] Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut,* 76.

books or compiled them into albums.[152] Arthur Hind has documented several other methods of display for prints conveying that they were sewn into clothing as amulets, pasted on or inside furniture pieces, or collected in small coffers.[153] The many display possibilities for prints indicate that the nine representations of them in paintings were not intended to reflect actual practice. Instead, artists placed these prints in display contexts that would confront the viewer with information integral to deciphering the message of the painting.

**Domestic Objects as Documents of Artistic Identity: Mirrors, Majolica, and Rugs**

Many scholars make assumptions about the objects displayed in the painted interiors of Netherlandish paintings. When we look at the same painting hundreds of times or see a core group of popular examples of images displayed in books and articles it is easy for us to begin to assume that certain details are ordinary when they should be remarkable and remarkable when they should be ordinary. Consider, for example,

[152] Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2 (Spring 1994): 7-36.
[153] Hind, *Introduction to the History of Woodcut, n*76-77.

Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* (fig. 5) or Hans Memling's *Diptych of Martin van Nieuwenhove* (fig. 43). These images are reproduced over and over again in books and articles dedicated to fifteenth century painting and our familiarity with the images creates a false sense of the prevalence of the objects they contain. I refer in particular to the convex mirrors in both paintings. Although various scholars may warn that mirrors were fairly unusual to have in a fifteenth century home, our constant confrontation with these images combined with our constant exposure to mirrors in our everyday lives can, over time, result in a comfortable acceptance of this motif as ordinary.

In reality, mirrors were not objects commonly depicted in fifteenth century Flemish paintings. Of the 287 images with domestic settings studied, only 11 contained mirrors. Furthermore, the 4% of images that do represent mirrors often show them in a very different format and manner of display than those mirrors described in inventories.

An examination of fifteenth century inventories reveals that mirrors were objects owned primarily by the nobility. As mentioned previously, noble inventories tend to be very specific in their descriptions

of particular objects. A study of inventory descriptions of mirrors owned by the nobility at this time shows that the types of mirrors depicted in Flemish paintings of domestic interiors do not necessarily correspond to the types of mirrors owned by the nobility in either their form or display.

Inventories of the House of Orleans conducted in 1389 and 1408 contain numerous references to mirrors, most of them found under the heading, "*Objects de Toilette."* [154] These mirrors took various forms but all seem to have been small-scale intended either to be held in the hand or attached to clothing. Some mirrors seem to have taken the form of small folding diptychs. The Orleans inventory describes a mirror in a frame consisting of precious gems and pearls with an image of St. George on the exterior and an image of the Annunciation on the interior. The inventory taker notes that this particular mirror was stored in a leather kit along with an ivory comb and a decorated tool for making the part in the duchess's hair. The inventory taker also describes several mirrors that were kept in bags and pouches attached to a chain that most likely were worn suspended from a belt. Mentioned in particular is a mirror framed

[154] For this and the following see Frances Marjorice Graves, *Deux Inventaires de la Maison d'Orleans (1389 et 1408),* (Paris, 1926), 48.

in pearls with images of the Virgin Mary and the Three Magi on the reverse.

The descriptions of mirrors owned by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, are less specific in their language than those from the House of Orleans inventory.[155] However, it is clear from many of the entries that most mirrors were two-sided with the mirror itself on one side and a religious or heraldic scene on the other. Five separate entries record mirrors in the possession of the Duke of Burgundy with this type of double-sided decoration. The size of these mirrors is not stated; however the subject matter of the images is recorded. The Burgundy mirrors were decorated with images of St. John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, a young woman playing the harp, and an emperor in his chariot. The inventory specifies that the representation of St. John was painted while the young woman and the emperor were formed of a white plaster. No medium is mentioned for the mirror with the image of the Virgin Mary. The most detailed description of a mirror owned by the Duke of Burgundy describes a mirror framed in pearls and decorated with enamels of the

[155] Leon de Laborde, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, 2 vols., (Paris, 1851), 129-130.

Virgin and Child seated on a ray of sunshine and the Coronation of the Virgin.

Three entries in Charles V's household inventories specifically describe "large" mirrors.[156] The first is recorded among the effects of the Castle of Saint Germain in Laye. The inventory taker describes a large mirror surrounded by copper with embroidery on the back. The exact location of this mirror in the castle is not specified. The other two large mirrors in the possession of Charles V were located in his studies in the Louvre and at his castle at Mehun. The large mirror in the Louvre was decorated with the coats-of-arms of France and Bourbon while the Mehun mirror contained the arms of Queen Jehanne de Bourbon and an image of the Virgin Mary. The wording of the inventory does not make clear whether the decorations on these mirrors were on a surrounding frame or on the reverse. Furthermore, the inventory does not quantify the difference in scale between a "small" mirror and a "large" mirror.

Sabine Melchior-Bonnet's recent research on the history of mirrors reveals that there were two distinct types of mirrors produced during the

[156] Jules Labarte, *Inventaire de mobilier de Charles V, roi de France,* (Paris, 1879), 217, 233, 261.

fifteenth century in Northern Europe. The first type was relatively inexpensive to make and involved polishing the surface of a flat steel or tin plate. These could be created in a variety of sizes and were sold at markets and fairs. The second type of fifteenth century mirror was the "silvered" mirror. Silvered mirrors are the convex type depicted in the images of Jan van Eyck, Robert Campin, and Hans Memling. They were manufactured by pouring melted lead into a ball of blown glass that was then cut to form the mirror. Silvered mirrors were not only very expensive to make but were small-scale due to the limitations of the production process.[157]

Fifteenth century noble inventory descriptions of mirrors combined with Melchior-Bonnet's discussion of the technology behind their production gives us a good sense of the character of these objects. In reality, mirrors were objects intended to be held, carried, or displayed in a manner that allowed the viewing of not only the reflection of the silvered surface but the decoration attached to the back of the form. A rare reference to a hanging mirror appears in a written description of the

[157] Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, Translated by Katherine H. Jewett (New York: Routledge, 2001), 14-15.

Château de Hesdin of the Duke of Burgundy. The entrance gallery of the château had a "...mirror with several visible stains" hanging on the door.[158]

Why then, do artists most often show mirrors hanging on the walls of domestic settings they have painted? The immediate iconographic association that springs to mind is that the mirrors in fifteenth century panel paintings may make reference to warnings about vanity. While this symbolism could certainly be argued for some images, as a whole mirrors appear in the compositions of a wide variety of both sacred and secular subjects making such a connection less likely.

Lorne Campbell suggests that Bruges painters may have used mirrors in their compositions because of their close connection to mirror manufacturers who belonged to same guild (the Guild of St. Luke).[159] However compelling this idea may be at first consideration, further reflection reminds us that the Bruges panel painters were very territorial even within their own guild. I believe a better explanation may lie in

[158] Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror*, 16.
[159] Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 189.

considering the influence of Jan van Eyck on later artists.[160] It is the mirror in van Eyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife* that most reflects the form of a mirror that he likely had seen in the collection of the Duke of Burgundy. The skillful visual effects van Eyck created using this device served as a unique indicator of the skill of the artist. Later painters, following van Eyck's example, continued to manipulate the typical form and display context of mirrors as a means of highlighting their skill at painting the distorted reflections and intricate lighting effects created by their convex surfaces.

**Majolica**

Like mirrors, majolica pieces are objects whose frequency of appearance is over-emphasized by their inclusion in some of the most popular and most studied fifteenth century paintings. The profusion of articles dedicated to unraveling the meaning behind Robert Campin's

[160] James Marrow argues a similar motivation at work in the composition of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*. He states, "...I believe that Rogier quoted van Eyck's [Rolin] composition in order to identify himself as an heir to the artistic tradition represented by van Eyck." See James H. Marrow, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting: the Place of Rogier van der Weyden's St. Luke Drawing the Virgin," in *Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, (Tournhout: Brepols, 1997), 54.

*Merode Altarpiece* contributes to this phenomenon as does the artist's prominent placement of the majolica pitcher on the table at the center of the altarpiece (fig. 44). In actuality, majolica vases appear in 27 of the 287 paintings with domestic interiors as their setting. Furthermore, this number reflects depictions of majolica that appear in multiple copies of images produced by workshops or followers of specific artists.

**Table 3: Number of Paintings Containing Depictions of Majolica by Master**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Circle of Robert Campin** | **4/27** | **15%** |
| **Circle of Gerard David** | **4/27** | **15%** |
| **Bernard van Orley** | **3/27** | **11%** |
| **Jan Provost** | **3/27** | **11%** |
| **Master of St. Ursula** | **2/27** | **7%** |
| **Lucas van Leyden** | **2/27** | **7%** |
| **Jan de Beer** | **2/27** | **7%** |

The above table suggests that artists may have had favorite objects or motifs that they commonly included in their compositions. These objects may have functioned in a manner similar to "signature spaces" in declaring the origins of the painting within the workshop of a specific master. It is equally possible that some objects appear in paintings

because they were items contained in the artist's workshop or home. Ellen Callmann has suggested that this might be the explanation for the appearance of the majolica pitchers in Robert Campin's *Merode Altarpiece* and the *Brussels Annunciation* (figs. 7 and 45). Callmann notes that the pitchers are shown from slightly different points of view but both display the same motifs of a bird shown in profile amidst a floral and oak leaf pattern.[161] She argues that the pitcher must have been an item that both artists had access to as a workshop drawing or sketch most likely would not have shown the majolica piece from the slightly different angles it appears at in the painted compositions. Thus, Callmann believes the artists must have actually possessed the majolica pitcher and been able physically to manipulate it when painting their images.[162]

T. L. de Bruin has suggested yet another way that the majolica pitcher in Campin's *Merode Annunciation* serves as a type of "signature object." He argues that the inscription along the right side of the pitcher is formed of a combination of Greek and Hebrew letters that read "DVPAYMKN." When translated these letters can be read "du Kampyn"

[161] Ellen Callmann, "Campin's Majolica Pitcher," *Art Bulletin* 64 (December 1982): 630.
[162] Callmann, "Campin's Majolica Pitcher," 631.

or "van der Kempyn" that clearly declare the painting to be of the hand of Campin.[163] It is interesting to speculate that perhaps painters got the idea for incorporating "signatures" into majolica decoration from the ceramicists who made it. Richard Goldthwaite has discussed the "painterly" nature of majolica production and how Italian craftsmen incorporated their signatures or makers' marks into the designs on their majolica wares.[164] Once translated from a ceramics mark to a painter's signature by Robert Campin the idea may have spread to other artists. This is noted by James Snyder who suggests that Derik Baegert places the letters "BAEG" on the majolica vase of his picture *Saint Luke Painting the Madonna* (fig. 46) in emulation of Campin's signature object.[165]

Like the Campin circle, Bernard van Orley's depictions of majolica appear to be based on variations of a favorite form. The majolica pieces represented in van Orley's paintings are all vase forms with rounded bodies that narrow at the neck and flare out at the top. In two of the

[163] Although de Bruin's article has traditionally been treated with some skepticism, the research by Goldthwaite and the example of Derik Baegert perhaps lend greater possibility to de Bruin's proposition. T.L. de Bruin, "Le Maitre de Flémalle et sa Crypto-Signature," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 67 (1966): 6.
[164] Richard A. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1989): 4.
[165] Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 233.

Annunciation images in Cambridge and Oslo (figs. 47 and 48) these vase forms are further articulated by a flared footed base and double handles attached at the top of the rounded body and terminating just below the lip of the vase. While the decoration of the van Orley vases does not appear to disguise a signature of any kind, his three variations of a basic form suggest that he preferred this style of vase or perhaps was looking at and adapting an example of a vase he owned or had sketched.

In some instances, the decoration on majolica forms in paintings indicates that masters viewed the designs on the pieces as an opportunity for constructing iconographic references within the composition. For example, the short majolica vase in the center of Gerard David's painting of the *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup* in the Aurora Trust collection in New York (fig. 32) prominently display a cross form on the rounded body of the vessel while the tall vase in his New York *Annunciation* (fig. 49) shows a band of decoration that resembles Hebraic script. Similarly, the majolica vase in Jan Provost's *Annunciation* (fig. 50) is decorated with a Greek cross enclosed in a circular medallion on the body of the vessel and

the vase in an *Annunciation* by the Master of Brunswick (fig. 51) has the letters PATE [Pater] on a band around the center of the form.

In addition to decorative motifs that clearly function as religious symbols, the color scheme and physical form of the majolica pieces represented in domestic paintings may have iconographic significance as well. All of the 27 images depicting majolica show the same type: a white ground with cobalt blue decoration. In terms of their physical form, 21 of the 27 majolica pieces depicted are of vessel forms (vases, pitchers, jars):

**Table 4: Types of Majolica Depicted in Domestic Paintings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Tall, double-handled vase** | **7/27** | **26%** |
| **Tall, single-handle pitcher** | **6/27** | **22%** |
| **Plain vase** | **3/27** | **11%** |
| **Pharmacy Jar** | **3/27** | **11%** |
| **Plate** | **2/27** | **7%** |
| **Short, double-handled vase** | **1/27** | **4%** |
| **Short, single-handled vase** | **1/27** | **4%** |

The limited color scheme and form of the majolica pieces shown in paintings is curious given the large number of color schemes and forms of majolica being produced at this time. During the fifteenth century

majolica was produced in a wide variety of colors including yellow, orange, red, green, and purple.[166] In his discussion of available forms, Richard Goldthwaite states:

> Production of maiolica was directed to various uses: above all as tableware, but also as floor and wall tiles, as devotional objects ranging from ex-votos to Della Robbia reliefs, as containers for drugs and spices in pharmacy shops, and as inkwells, candlesticks, statuettes, and other such decorative objects that one might find scattered throughout the home – all of this diversification is another mark of the industry's success.[167]

That the limitations of color and form of depicted majolica pieces have iconographic significance is perhaps reinforced by the subjects of the paintings that display majolica wares:

**Table 5: Subjects of Paintings Displaying Majolica**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Annunciation** | **17/27** | **63%** |
| **Virgin and Child** | **4/27** | **15%** |
| **Birth of the Virgin** | **2/27** | **8%** |

The statistics presented above indicate that in Annunciation scenes in particular artists used majolica as signifier of meaning within the scene.

[166]Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," 3,5.
[167] Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica": 16.

This issue will be examined in case studies of Annunciation scenes to be presented in Chapter Five.

**Oriental Rugs**

As with mirrors and majolica, oriental rugs are objects whose frequency of depiction in domestic images is often over-estimated. Only 23 of the 287 paintings studied contained oriental rugs and over half of these representations hail from the circles of Bernard van Orley and Hans Memling:

**Table 6: Number of Paintings Containing Depictions of Oriental Rugs By Master**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Circle of Bernard van Orley** | **6/23** | **26%** |
| **Circle of Hans Memling** | **6/23** | **26%** |
| **Circle of Jan van Eyck** | **3/23** | **13%** |
| **Circle of Rogier van der Weyden** | **2/23** | **9%** |

Ferenc Batari has suggested that in the case of Hans Memling the repetition of motifs in oriental rugs in Memling circle compositions may have served as a type of signature indicating the provenance of the paintings. He, like Ellen Callmann, believes that this signature may have

developed through the copying of an actual object belonging to the artist. However, in the case of oriental rugs the repetition of motifs may have reflected certain political and trade circumstances that influenced artists' exposure to luxury import items. A. Juvet-Michel has noted that the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) dramatically slowed the import of oriental rugs into the Netherlands.[168] As a result, the designs of natively produced rugs in the oriental style stagnated. Thus, early fifteenth century artists may have repeated patterns of extant rugs that they had ready access to as new examples were limited. By the early sixteenth century the political and trade situations had changed significantly and luxury goods, including oriental rugs, flowed into the port at Antwerp in increased numbers. This may explain the fact that the compositions of Bernard van Orley, who worked in Antwerp during the early sixteenth century, show twice the number of oriental rugs as those of Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling, who worked in Bruges during the fifteenth century.

[168] A. Juvet-Michel, "The Use of the Oriental Carpet and its Part in European Painting," *CIBA Review* 14 (October 1938), 528.

## Mixed Motivations: Candles, Textiles, Tapestry, Glass, Metal, and Stained Glass

Several objects depicted (or rarely depicted) in paintings with domestic settings communicate a wide variety of messages depending upon their particular form, frequency, material, or decoration. For example, the types of candle holders and textiles commonly represented in the 287 paintings in the statistical study are reflective of the forms of these objects as contained in the houses of the middle or upper-middle classes in Flanders during the fifteenth century. The lack of depictions of tapestries in a great majority of the images discounts a type of art found in profusion in most noble households during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Thus, these representations communicate information about class status. However, other forms of the same objects clearly serve iconographical functions or identify artistic provenance.

## Candles and Candle Holders: Status, Signatures, and Subjects

The statistical study of 287 paintings with domestic interiors reveals that 81 of the images, or 28%, represent candles or candle holders.

This could perhaps be considered a rather low number as candles were the main source of illumination for middle-class and upper-middle class households during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In fact, a statistical study of 42 fifteenth century, middle-class household inventories done in conjunction with an exhibit of domestic objects in 1980 revealed that 289 candle holders are listed in the documents indicating that each home owned an average of six candle holders.[169]

The 81 paintings displaying candles and/or candle holders show ten different types:

**Table 7: Types of Candles and Candle Holders Displayed in Domestic Paintings[170]**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Single stem holder with candle** | **48/81** | **59%** |
| **Long, hand-held taper candle** | **21/81** | **26%** |
| **Single holder attached to wall without a candle** | **12/81** | **15%** |
| **Single holder attached to wall with candle** | **9/81** | **11%** |
| **Chandelier with one or more candles** | **7/81** | **9%** |
| **Single holder attached to wall with candle and round** | **7/81** | **9%** |

[169] *Thuis in de late middelleeuwen*, 69.
[170] The numbers in the table add up to more than 81 as some paintings show more than one type of candle holder.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **reflective plate behind** | | |
| **Chandelier without candles** | **6/81** | **7%** |
| **Single stem holder without candle** | **3/81** | **4%** |
| **Single stem holder with 3 branches and one candle** | **2/81** | **2%** |
| **Single stem holder with 2 branches and one candle** | **1/81** | **1%** |

One of the most significant aspects of the statistical study of candles and candle holders is that one particular lighting device is excluded from painters' depictions of domestic settings: oil lamps. During the fifteenth century oil lamps were only used by the poorest households and thus, their exclusion from paintings displaying domestic settings may be an indicator of the status of the homes represented in the painted spaces.[171] Furthermore, while the above table reflects that artists were placing a variety of forms of candle holders in their compositions, it is interesting to note that all of the depictions show candle holders made of metal. None of the 81 paintings containing depictions of candles shows a candle holder made of wood or earthenware. Certainly, metal candle holders were much more expensive than ceramic or wooden ones during the fifteenth

[171] Timothy Husband, ed., *The Secular Spirit: Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1975), 22.

and sixteenth centuries.[172] Thus, artists have chosen the more expensive material in which to depict the forms, once again indicating a more expensive category of the objects defining spaces that were clearly not intended to depict poorer homes.

While candle forms and materials in most paintings can serve to communicate the social class of the spaces depicted, in some images they also served an iconographic function. This is apparent when the images that represent candles are listed according to subject matter:

**Table 8: Subjects of Paintings Depicting Candles**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Death of the Virgin** | **22/81** | **27%** |
| **St. Jerome** | **14/81** | **17%** |
| **Annunciation** | **13/81** | **16%** |
| **Misc. Saints** | **9/81** | **11%** |
| **Birth Scenes** | **6/81** | **7%** |
| **Virgin and Child** | **6/81** | **7%** |

For some subjects, the particular form of the candle may have iconographic significance. For example, long, hand-held taper candles are

[172] *Thuis in de late middeleeuwen,* 69.

seen almost exclusively in scenes of the Death of the Virgin or the death scenes of saints.

As with the majolica discussion above, some painters included candles in their compositions more often than others. The following table shows that almost half of the panel paintings that display candles and/or candle holders in their domestic settings come from the circles or workshops of six artists:

**Table 9: Number of Paintings Containing Depictions of Candles and/or Candle Holders by Master**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Circle of Joos van Cleve** | **11/81** | **14%** |
| **Marinus van Reymerswaele** | **7/81** | **9%** |
| **Circle of Robert Campin** | **6/81** | **7%** |
| **Circle of Hugo van der Goes** | **6/81** | **7%** |
| **Circle of Quentin Massys** | **5/81** | **6%** |
| **Circle of Jan van Eyck** | **4/81** | **5%** |

Again, the explanation for the manipulation of certain forms of an object by particular masters suggests that artists had favorite ways of both depicting domestic objects and composing iconographical messages in their images.

**Textiles**

The previous discussions of the material, form, and decoration of select objects depicted in fifteenth and early sixteenth century domestic paintings has been facilitated by the meticulousness of the painters creating the images. Netherlandish artists excelled at making paintings with incredible attention to minute detail and prided themselves in their ability to reproduce the textures and visual effects of items in the real world. However, even the most skilled painter would be challenged to create enough fine detail in his depiction of textiles to allow the viewer to discern the grades of quality of different types of wool or linen. Thus, the discussion of textiles shown in domestic settings is somewhat more difficult and therefore of a more generalized nature than explorations of other types of objects.[173]

[173] Further hindering the discussion of textiles is the fact that all of the illustrations in the Friedländer corpus are in black and white. While color reproductions can be found of some of the images in public museums, many of the paintings illustrated in Friedländer are in private collections and therefore could not be examined in color to comment on color which might indicate the cost of textiles.

As with candles, the types of textiles depicted in most fifteenth and early sixteenth century paintings with domestic interiors as their settings can be used to indicate the social status of the spaces composed in paint.

**Table 10: Types of Textiles Depicted in Domestic Paintings**[174]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Plain wool furniture drape** | **112/228** | **49%** |
| **Plain wool bedding/bed hangings** | **98/228** | **43%** |
| **Plain wool covered cushions** | **53/228** | **23%** |
| **Velvet or silk canopy** | **25/228** | **11%** |
| **Linen towel** | **22/228** | **10%** |
| **Embroidered or tapestry cushion** | **11/228** | **5%** |
| **Plain wool curtain** | **10/228** | **4%** |
| **Velvet or silk cushion** | **9/228** | **4%** |
| **Velvet or silk furniture drape** | **7/228** | **3%** |
| **Combination wool & velvet/silk bedding/bed hangings** | **3/228** | **1%** |
| **Plain wool canopy** | **2/228** | **.8%** |

Of the 352 textile objects depicted in the 228 images an overwhelming majority appear to be plain woolen cloth.

**Table 11: Plain Woolen versus Luxury Textiles in Paintings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Plain woolen textiles** | **297/352** | **84%** |
| **Luxury textiles** | **55/352** | **16%** |

[174] As with the discussion of book types, the number of different types of textiles is greater than the number of paintings as many images show more than one type of textile.

Furthermore, the expensive silks and velvets that are depicted in paintings are shown in a modest manner being confined to the coverings of cushions and furniture pieces or, at the most elaborate, a canopy or single panel of the bed curtains. The form and display of textiles, like the forms of candles discussed above, locate these paintings in a particular social sphere representing neither poor nor noble households. Instead, the textiles depicted indicate that the homes shown in the images are those of the middle or upper-middle class.

The descriptions of the textiles found in several middle class inventories is in keeping with the character of the textiles Netherlandish artists included in their compositions. An inventory of the modest Bruges home of Johannes Jans, taken on November 4, 1469, describes a bed with plain red woolen bedding; no other textiles are recorded.[175] A much larger house in Bruges, that of Jacob Balderan, was inventoried on May 19, 1460 and contained many more textiles; however, all of them are woolen bed sets, furniture drapes, and cushions in red, blue, and green.[176]

[175] "Kleine Inventarissen," 304.
[176] Viaene, "Woning en Huisraad van Jakob Balderan," 337-342.

During the fifteenth century the volume, character, and display of textiles was the most visible distinction of social status. Members of the royalty and nobility cloaked themselves and their residences in spectacular luxury fabrics.[177] Two rooms draped in expensive textiles are described in the inventory of the Duke of Orleans.[178] One chamber was covered in satin decorated with a pattern of stags while the other was draped in green fabric covered with gold embroidery. A similar room with decorations in blue velvet patterned with the French fleur-de-lys is recorded in the inventory of Charles V, King of France.[179] The heraldically emblazoned textiles covered the bed cover, curtains, and drapes as well as the sofa, bench, windows, and doors. Such sumptuous displays, the purview of the elite, are not seen in panel paintings of the fifteenth century indicating their separation from this realm of society.

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[177] Two excellent and concise articles that summarize primary source descriptions of clothing of household textiles used by the Court of Burgundy are H. Wescher, "Fashion and Elegance at the Court of Burgundy," *CIBA Review* 51 (July 1946), 1841-1848 and H. Wescher, "Fabrics and Colours in the Ceremonial of the Court of Burgundy," *CIBA Review* 51 (July 1946), 1850-1856.

[178] Frances Marjorice Graves, *Deux inventaires de la maison d'Orleans (1389 et 1408),* (Paris, 1926), 71.

[179] Labarte, *Inventaire de mobilier de Charles V, roi de France,* 362.

**Tapestries**

Like luxury silks and velvets, tapestries were commissioned and displayed almost exclusively by the nobility during the fifteenth century.[180] These woven pictures were often produced in sets to decorate entire rooms or *chambres* in the houses of the nobility.[181] Inventories record that King Charles V of France owned over 200 tapestries, the Dukes of Burgundy (Philip the Bold and Philip the Good), owned over 100, Duke Louis of Anjou had over 70, and Duke Jean de Berry collected over 30 tapestries.[182]

It is perhaps not surprising that few panel paintings depict tapestries. Only seven compositions feature tapestries and these representations are not reflective of the elaborate *chambres* described in noble inventories and accounts of celebrations. Instead, the seven panels show smaller wall hangings or pillow covers.

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[180] Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 13 and Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 16.
[181] Campbell, *Tapestry,* 23 and Wilson, *Painting in Bruges,* 30.
[182] Campbell, *Tapestry,* 14.

Several of the factors discussed in the sections above could account for the limited number of tapestries shown in domestic images. As with candles and luxury fabrics, the absence of this elaborate category of objects firmly roots these paintings within a specific social stratum. In addition, the issues of signature objects and guild competition and restrictions contribute to either the depiction or avoidance of tapestry representations.

Of the seven paintings that depict tapestries, three were created by the Brussels painter Bernard van Orley. In addition, these three images all display more "traditional" types of tapestries covering large sections of walls in the painted compositions. Bernard van Orley's choice of tapestry as a "signature object" is understandable considering the fact that he had close contact with these expensive woven items. Van Orley, as court painter to Margaret of Austria and then to Mary of Hungary, would have seen elaborate tapestries in the royal household. Furthermore, after 1520 van Orley increasingly had apprentices in his workshop producing panel paintings so that he could focus on designing tapestries. Karel Van Mander, describing van Orley's work on tapestry cartoons, noted, "...in

this medium [he was] especially talented and surehanded, and very well paid for his services."[183]

While van Orley selected to advertise his tapestry designs in his panel paintings, other artists may have avoided including tapestry in their compositions as a way of asserting their status in a manner similar to their exclusion of depictions of cloth paintings. Legal documents and guild regulations from the city of Brussels reflect the fierce competition to protect the rights of panel painters in the tapestry production process. Particularly in dispute were the abuses in the application of paint on woven surfaces and in the use and creation of designs. In the city of Brussels panel painters were concerned with the role of *afzetters* who were employed to add touches of paint to specific sections of figural tapestries (for example the blush on cheeks).[184] The panel painters suspected that the *afzetters* were painting larger areas of tapestry that should have been subcontracted out to them. In 1525 a legal regulation was finally passed in the city of Brussels that guaranteed panel painters the right to paint facial

[183] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance,* 287.
[184] Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry,* 21-22.

features on tapestry figures based upon the overall value of the weaving (thus small, inexpensive tapestries could still be painted by the *afzetters*).[185]

Beyond the possible abuses of the *afzetters*, panel painters also wished to protect their right to produce tapestry cartoons and to continue collecting the proceeds from their reuse. The first legislation addressing this issue was enacted in 1476. At this time the tapestry weavers and painters negotiated an agreement whereby painters were guaranteed the right to design all tapestries that included human figures in their compositions.[186] Problems arose when the tapestry makers began weaving multiple copies of a tapestry using the same cartoon. In 1525 another regulation was established that required weavers to obtain a painter's permission before making additional tapestries from the same artist's cartoon.[187]

The ultimate result of the negotiations between tapestry weavers and panel painters was that one artistic product made reference to another. Thomas Campbell notes:

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[185] Emoke Laszlo and Corvina Kiado, *Flemish and French Tapestries in Hungary* (Budapest: Revai Printing House, 1981), 22.
[186] Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry*, 47 and Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 49, 133-134.
[187] Laszlo and Kiado, *Flemish and French Tapestries*, 22.

> In view of the content of the 1476 agreement between the painting and tapestry guilds, it can hardly be coincidental that a number of the tapestries that survive from the following years were essentially conceived as large panel paintings; the weavers clearly took great pains to emulate the effects of a painted image.[188]

The attempts by tapestry weavers to create textile images that resembled panel paintings may reflect the increased status of panel paintings and their painters towards the end of the fifteenth century.

**Glass Vessels: Identity and Iconography**

Glass vessels appear in 48 panel paintings, often in table or dining scenes where multiple pieces are presented together. In all, 90 different glass vessels are displayed in domestic paintings and a majority of these were in the form of small smooth or prunted beakers for drinking.

**Table 12: Types of Glass Vessels Depicted in Panel Paintings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Smooth Beaker** | **29/90** | **32%** |
| **Flask** | **25/90** | **28%** |
| **Beaker with Prunts** | **18/90** | **20%** |
| **Pitcher/Ewer** | **11/90** | **12%** |
| **Covered Goblet** | **6/90** | **7%** |
| **Smooth, Stemmed Goblet** | **1/90** | **1%** |

[188] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 135.

The statistics regarding glass depictions in panel paintings are somewhat contradictory. Thirty-two percent of the glass pieces represented are smooth sided beakers and this form was the most popular and most produced vessel in Northern Europe during the fifteenth century.[189] Such beakers were usually small-scale, measuring four inches or less in height, and were mass-produced in pattern molds that gave the glass a swirled or ribbed texture. Although inventory descriptions do not usually record the material a vessel is made out of, many archeological excavations have unearthed examples of these glass forms.[190] Thus, in this instance the painted representations seem to reflect actual practice.

Contradictory to actual practice and form are the twenty-eight percent of panel paintings that display glass flasks in their compositions. The flask form is usually referred to as a "pilgrim flask" and is based upon the shape of gourds pilgrims used to hold water during their travels.[191] The functional dried gourd pilgrim flask form was eventually translated

[189] Caroline Hess and Timothy Husband, *European Glass in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), 25.
[190] Excavations in Bruges, Utrecht, Delft, and Göttingen have recovered examples of such beakers. Hess and Husband, *European Glass*, 28-29, 37-39. Also "Dumping in the Past" exhibition Bruges Archeological Museum.
[191] *The Secular Spirit,* 47 and http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o1175.html

into decorative flasks made of metal or ceramics that were elaborately ornamented. Glass pilgrim flasks were much rarer although a few examples survive. Like the metal and ceramic pieces, glass pilgrim flasks were covered in intricate imagery and patterns.[192] Therefore, the clear glass pilgrim flasks shown in Flemish paintings are not exactly true to popular forms and their decorations. As with majolica, the motivations for the manipulation of visual representations of the pilgrim flask may have both artistic and iconographic explanations. A breakdown of artists who consistently use the form in their paintings and of the subjects that display the object within their settings illustrates the use of "signature objects" and iconographic signifiers:

**Table 13: Number of Paintings Containing Depictions of Pilgrim Flasks by Master**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Circle of Joos van Cleve** | **10/28** | **36%** |
| **Circle of Jan van Eyck** | **2/28** | **7%** |
| **Circle of Rogier van der Weyden** | **2/28** | **7%** |

[192] Hess and Husband, *European Glass,* 87-89.

**Table 14: Subjects of Paintings Depicting Pilgrim Flasks**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Annunciation** | **6/28** | **21%** |
| **St. Jerome** | **6/28** | **21%** |
| **Death of the Virgin** | **5/28** | **18%** |
| **Virgin and Child** | **2/28** | **7%** |

In some cases artists used undecorated pilgrim flasks as signature objects, in other instances they were employed to communicate religious concepts and in yet other situations artists seem to have combined both motivations in a sophisticated intertwining of functions. Brian Madigan explores Jan van Eyck's use of the motif and argues that he includes the pilgrim flask in his compositions because its form is appropriate for domestic contexts.[193] He suggests that within the painted home backdrop van Eyck included the flask as a symbol of the second mode of ecstasy as described by Richard of Saint-Victor. In this theological structure the flask represents the meditating soul and the sun is God's illumination. When a painter depicts sunlight passing through the flask he is communicating the union of the human soul with God.[194]

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[193] Brian Madigan, "Van Eyck's Illuminated Carafe," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 227.
[194] Madigan, "Van Eyck's Illuminated Carafe," 227-228.

**Metal Vessels**

The durability of metal over the centuries has logically contributed to the fact that many vessels of this material have survived and are collected in museums today. However, this gives us a false sense of the popularity of metal vessels during the fifteenth century. Archeological studies have demonstrated that earthenware vessels were most likely found in greater abundance than metal ones yet the depictions of common household containers in paintings would not support this fact.[195] Instead, panel painters included a wide variety of metal forms in their compositions.

**Table 15: Types of Metal Vessels Depicted in Panel Paintings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Pitcher** | **122/458** | **27%** |
| **Knives** | **62/458** | **13%** |
| **Plates** | **61/458** | **13%** |
| **Covered Dish** | **48/458** | **10%** |
| **Basin** | **32/458** | **7%** |
| **Small Bowl** | **30/458** | **6%** |
| **Footed or Plain Cup** | **20/458** | **4%** |
| **Ewer** | **18/458** | **4%** |
| **Flask** | **15/458** | **3%** |
| **Censer** | **13/458** | **3%** |

[195] Bruges archeological Museum, "Dumping in the Past," 2000.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Hanging Lantern/Lamp** | **10/458** | **2%** |
| **Pail** | **9/458** | **2%** |
| **Vase** | **7/458** | **1.5%** |
| **Chamber Pot** | **5/458** | **1%** |
| **Chalice** | **3/458** | **.6%** |
| **Armor** | **3/458** | **.6%** |

As with the pilgrim flasks discussed above, artists depicted metal vessels in greater profusion and with less decoration than the actual forms from the fifteenth century. Furthermore, there seems to be a clear link between some types of metal containers and certain iconographic themes. For example, thirteen censers are listed in the table above and all of these are included in the compositions of death scenes (such as the Death of the Virgin or the Death of St. Augustine). Likewise, of the twelve pails depicted in panel paintings seven are shown in death scenes and the other five are displayed in images of St. Jerome. Basins appear in the compositions of several different subjects:

**Table 16: Subjects of Paintings Depicting Basins**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Annunciation** | **7/32** | **22%** |
| **Birth Scenes** | **7/32** | **22%** |
| **Virgin and Child** | **6/32** | **19%** |
| **Last Supper** | **3/32** | **9%** |

In addition, there are instances where artists combine iconographic metal forms in a way that also asserts the identity of their workshop. For example, 27% of the panel paintings displaying a covered dish in their compositions are scenes of Mary Magdalene by the workshop of the Master of the Female Half-Length. While alluding to the Magdalene's jar of oil, the form also serves as a signature of the painter.

**Stained Glass: Decoration, Document, and Symbol**

Of the sixteen categories of objects examined in the statistical study, stained glass depictions perhaps best represent the categories of decoration, document, and symbol. Stained glass windows shown in paintings display three different types of design:

**Table 17: Stained Glass Designs Depicted in Panel Paintings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Heraldic Designs** | **15/38** | **39%** |
| **Figural Designs**[196] | **15/38** | **39%** |
| **Decorative Designs** | **8/38** | **21%** |

Decorative designs in stained glass, which are statistically the least popular, include colored borders or lozenges that do not appear to have

[196] I have included in the "figural designs" category several paintings where the window contains a roundel that presumably would have had a figural design on it although the design is extremely difficult to see in the image.

any overt message. Certainly subtle symbolisms could be suggested, for instance that the touches of color are intended to gently remind the viewer of church glass. However, other motivations could be argued. For instance, the inclusion of decorative details might be identifiers of the window material as the more expensive glass rather than cheaper materials such as oiled paper or parchment.[197] Like depictions of candles, textiles, and tapestries, this could fix the economic or social status of the spaces depicted or the people represented within them. Finally, in Germany certain shapes and patterns of windows identified the city of production and thus particular decorative schemes could act as signature decorations.[198]

Messages of social status or religious beliefs are more clearly and more commonly conveyed through heraldic and figurative glass designs. Heraldic designs clearly document patronage and family lineage along with other personal virtues. Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix note:

> In addition to recording a patron's geneology through coats of arms, cabinet panels asserted social status in

[197] Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein,* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 2-3.
[198] Butts and Hendrix, *Painting on Light,* 13.

> other ways, indicating, for instance, membership in chivalric orders or proclaiming privileges, such as the right to participate in tournaments.[199]

Figurative stained glass most often took the form of painted roundels with designs and subjects intended to communicate symbolic messages. The roundel design in stained glass was almost exclusively a secular rather than sacred form.[200] Thus, its very shape displayed in domestic settings communicates a particular iconography even if it is difficult to discern the exact subject displayed within the roundel.

**Paintings within Paintings and the Construction of Devotional Space**

The concepts of "signature spaces" and "signature objects" push the boundaries of our perceptions about the motivations behind the compositional devices used by Netherlandish artists. Can the repeated use of a setting or motif be dismissed as mere laziness on the part of the artist? Were copies of images made as part of an unthinking production

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[199] Butts and Hendrix, *Painting on Light*, 3.
[200] Timothy Husband, *The Luminous Image: Painted Glass Roundels in the Lowlands, 1480-1560*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 10 and Butts and Pieter C. Ritsema van Eyck, *Painted Glass Roundels from the Netherlands, 1480-1560*, (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1999), 5.

line mentality? Certainly not. The placement of objects, their rendering, and their repetition in Netherlandish paintings was clearly designed to create artistic identifiers and control. The question that remains is: if panel painters were so interested in controlling their economic sphere and promoting and/or protecting their own product then why do only 17 of the 287 domestic paintings studied show panel paintings within panel paintings?

**Table 18: Panel Paintings that Depict Panel Paintings**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Albert Bouts** | **Annunciation (3 versions)** |
| **Follower of Dieric Bouts** | **Annunciation** |
| **Master of 1499** | **Diptych of Christian de Hondt** |
| **Master of the Legend of St. Catherine** | **Legend of St. Catherine** |
| **Colijn de Coter** | **St. Luke Painting the Virgin** |
| **Gerard David** | **Annunciation** |
| **Master of St. Augustine** | **Death of St. Augustine** |
| **Bernard van Orley** | **Virgin and Child with St. Catherine** |
| **Bernard van Orley** | **Portrait of Jean Charondelet** |
| **Joos van Cleve** | **Death of the Virgin (2 versions)** |
| **Joos van Cleve** | **Annunciation** |
| **Adrian Ysenbrandt** | **Annunciation** |
| **Master of the Legend of the Magdlene** | **Holy Family** |
| **Jan van Scorel** | **Portrait of Peter Bicker** |

An examination of the 17 images that depict panel paintings in their compositions clearly communicates the functions of panel paintings in the minds of artists producing them. In all of these images panel paintings define devotional space or suggest the act of personal devotion. While assisting in the process of individual prayer was not the only function of panel paintings during the fifteenth century, the depictions of "paintings within paintings" suggest that for artists the relationship between their images and devotion was the most desired purpose.

As Craig Harbison states:

> In fifteenth-century Flanders we find religious art in which individual piety is the prime motivating force; not scholastic disputation, transcendent ecstasy or liturgical ritual, but a calculated, personal religious experience, the vision or meditation is found at the center of things.[201]

He further explains the key role religious images played in the devotional process and the concurrent aspiration of achieving a religious vision:

> Officially, art was recognized as an incentive, an aid to meditation; very quickly, in the popular consciousness

[201] Craig Harbison, "Visions and meditations in early Flemish painting," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 87.

> at least, it became identical with the contemplative process itself. Contemplating something came to mean its visualization.[202]

Several visual, textual, and theological sources promote the idea that panel paintings were recognized by both artists and others as serving a significant devotional function. Depictions of panel paintings that appear in works of art of other media show the devotional forms of panel paintings as opposed to other types. For example, a half-length portrait engraving by Hieronymous Cock showing Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 52) depicts the artist in front of a backdrop displaying a small arched panel adorned with the Virgin and Child. A ribbon tacked under the image holds scrolls presumably containing prayers to the holy figures. While Rogier van der Weyden created several large-scale public altarpieces and a variety of tapestry cartoons and portrait paintings this work product is not visually connected with the painter as presented in Cock's engraving. Instead, the sitter's profession is signified by the small-scale private devotional painting.

[202] Harbison, "Visions and meditations," 114.

While panel painters seem to have explicitly avoided depictions of paintings on cloth in their images in an attempt to limit competition, there is an example of an extant painting on cloth that shows two panel paintings within its composition. In Jan de Beer's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (fig. 53), Luke works on a small-scale arched panel while another picture in the same shape can be seen in the far room propped up on the dresser next to the bed. This particular *bescreven cleederen* sends the message that St. Luke makes the first devotional image and illustrates its position within the Netherlandish home.

Many manuscript illuminations promote the use of imagery on panels as a means of achieving religious enlightenment. This is somewhat surprising considering the fact that painters often brought legal action against manuscript illuminators as a way of maintaining economic control over their products. As discussed previously, panel painters severely limited depictions of illuminations in the books included in their images unless necessary for iconographic reasons. Certainly, the animosity between painters and illuminators was marked in the city of Bruges as

documented by lawsuits filed in 1426, 1447, and 1457.[203] However, similar lawsuits filed in 1462 in Antwerp and 1463 in Ghent suggest that tensions existed in other cities as well.

Perhaps the best known manuscript illustration linking panel paintings to the act of devotion is that of *Philip the Good during Mass* (fig. 54). Philip is shown kneeling in a curtained area to the side of the main altar of the church. Members of the clergy surround the main altar with their books open revealing pages of non-illuminated text. Likewise, Philip's prayer book contains only lines of text. However, hanging just above the open book in his private prayer space is a small-scale diptych offering Philip an avenue for his prayers.

Yet another manuscript illumination clearly links panel paintings to the act of devotion, and this example includes a reference to the domestic context in which private devotional acts often took place. The scene of *Pope Sixtus IV praying before the Virgin in the Sun* (fig. 55) from a late fifteenth century Book of Hours shows the Pope kneeling at a prie-dieu with a book open before him. The manuscript pages display only words

[203] Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century," 191, fn.42.

and the Pope's attention is not focused upon this text. Instead, he directs his gaze and his outstretched hands towards an arched panel painting hanging on the wall. In the background the Pope's bed fills a quarter of the composition clearly marking the character of the setting of the pontiff's prayers. In this image the Pope serves as a model of spiritual behavior for the viewer. Sixtus IV had instituted specific indulgences for those who recited the *Ave Sanctissima Maria Mater Dei* before an image of the Virgin of the Sun.[204] Thus, images were an integral part of the path to salvation.

Several of the "paintings within paintings" discussed above follow the pattern of the manuscript image of Pope Sixtus IV by documenting miraculous visions or events associated with devotional acts in which images are present. The Virgin Mary in all of the Annunciation scenes described above is shown much in the guise of Pope Sixtus IV, placed in a bedroom with a book open to pages of text but other devotional opportunities are presented by the panel paintings in the space. The visit

[204] Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (March 1969): 164-165.

by the Angel Gabriel represents the "vision" experienced by the Virgin, selected by God for her demonstration of piety.

The role of images in the process of achieving religious understanding was articulated by Saint Augustine in his descriptions of the three categories of visions.[205] Visionary experience begins with the "corporeal" stage where things are seen with the eyes. Next comes the "spiritual" level which recalls that which has previously been seen or processes and envisions text. Finally, the worshipper reaches the "intellectual" goal of translating simple visual and narrative objects into conceptual ideas. Panel paintings, therefore, were perceived by artists and others as the first step on the path described by St. Augustine. This clearly explains the presence of the "painting within the painting" of the *Death of Saint Augustine.*

Another type of link between panel paintings and visionary experience is made explicitly in the images of St. Catherine by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and Bernard van Orley (figs. 56-57). Sixten Ringbom relates the story of St. Catherine of Siena:

[205] Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," 162.

> When a young girl, Saint Catherine asked a holy hermit how she might see Christ and the Virgin. The hermit gave her a Madonna icon, advising her to contemplate it and to pray to Mary to show her her Son. During the night the Virgin appeared, but Catherine was not yet deemed worthy to see the face of Christ. After further instruction by the hermit, she had another vision in which Christ 'turned sweetly towards her His glorious countenance.'[206]

The paintings by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and Bernard van Orley condense the narrative of St. Catherine's life. The Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine stages the story in a modest domestic structure placed in the foreground of the composition. In the far room of the house, Catherine is shown with her arms outstretched and her gaze focused upon an arched panel painting of the Virgin and Child hanging on the wall. In the foreground room of the house we see the result of Catherine's devotional act before the image: the Virgin and Child appear before her. Bernard van Orley shows a single scene taking place in Catherine's bedroom. The Virgin and Child appear in front of the bed with Catherine genuflecting before them. On the floor beside Catherine lies an arched

[206] Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," 161.

panel painting of the Virgin and Child, once again communicating the reward for contemplating an image.

The efficacy of image use in the devotional experience for the common man is represented in images such as the *Diptych of Christian de Hondt* by the Master of 1499 (fig. 58). The double-arch shape of the diptych shows the donor on one side and a Virgin and Child based upon Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church* on the other. Christian de Hondt kneels at prayer in his private room complete with a bed, a roaring fire, and a sleeping dog. Inside the bed curtains of his bed hangs a double-arched devotional diptych echoing the exact shape of the Master of 1499's creation. Although Christian de Hondt does not intensely study the image in the composition it is placed just above his line of sight implying that the very presence of the painting within the room establishes the conditions necessary for achieving visionary reward.

The emphasis placed on the devotional role of panel paintings along with the employment of signature objects in images indicates that Netherlandish artists were creating compositions that visually communicated the premier status of panel painters during the fifteenth

century. The next chapter will explore how these visual messages about painters influence traditional readings of the iconography of images.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Incorporating the Visual Signature into the Iconography of Domesticity

While Netherlandish panel painters composed spaces and selected objects in an attempt to document and promote themselves and their craft, they did this within the confines of accepted iconographic traditions. Just as works of art can serve multiple functions dependant upon their audience and context of display, so too can the objects in them communicate various messages.

Beyond this issue of signature spaces and signature objects there does appear to be an iconography of domesticity – certain subjects that commonly are depicted against home backdrops. An analysis of the 287 paintings with domestic settings in the first twelve volumes of the Friedländer corpus reveals that nine subjects frequently display such environments.

**Table 19: Subjects with Domestic Settings**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Annunciation** | **57/287** | **20%** |
| **Virgin and Child** | **48/287** | **17%** |
| **Portraits** | **47/287** | **16%** |
| **Death Scenes** | **22/287** | **8%** |
| **Mary Magdelene** | **17/287** | **6%** |
| **Saint Jerome** | **15/287** | **5%** |
| **Birth Scenes** | **13/287** | **5%** |
| **Last Supper** | **10/287** | **3%** |
| **Holy Family** | **6/287** | **2%** |

How does the presence of signature spaces and signature objects alter or enhance traditional readings of the iconography of Netherlandish paintings? Does the use of visual identifiers by artists diminish or negate the symbolic readings of images offered by previous art historians? In the following section a case study examining various Annunciation scenes is offered to explore the answers to these questions.

**The Annunciation of Artistic Identity**

A favorite subject for grandiose altarpieces and intimate prayer books alike was the Annunciation. While the key element of this Biblical narrative is the Archangel Gabriel's announcement and the Virgin Mary's reception of both the word and seed of God, David Robb notes:

> In the fourteenth century, an element in the iconography of the Annunciation became very important which had been of relatively subordinate significance in previous representations, namely the setting.[207]

Robb explores the development of Annunciation backdrops in different parts of Europe and argues that the transition from placing the scene in an exterior portico to an interior room begins in Northern Italy in the late fourteenth century and is fully embraced by Flemish painters in the early fifteenth century.[208] He suggests that Northern artists found greater opportunities for symbolic rendering in the domestic environment and argues that Robert Campin's *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 7) is the prototype used by later painters in their compositions.[209] He states:

> Its [the *Merode Altarpiece's*] significance as the first complete embodiment of the essentially Northern bourgeois conception of the Annunciation setting has been mentioned; its importance in this connection can be deduced from the fact that in the subsequent development of Flemish painting, there is no Annunciation of first quality in which the setting is other than a bourgeois interior except in very special cases.[210]

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[207] David M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), 485.
[208] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," 490.
[209] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," 504.
[210] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," 504 and 504, n.73.

It is within the extensive scholarship on the *Merode Altarpiece* that many of the theological and iconographical explanations of the use of the domestic setting for Annunciation scenes can be found. Meyer Schapiro argues that within the context of private devotional imagery the home setting creates a direct link to the spaces occupied by contemporary worshippers thus making the religious figures models for human behavior. He comments that the *Merode Altarpiece*:

> …places the human family of Christ in the foreground of devotion. It is essentially domestic and bourgeois, and celebrates…moral, familial virtues…These arguments, it may be said in passing, anticipate the ascetic Protestant concept of vocation and the religious value of industriousness, and should be taken into account in the problem of the origins of the Protestant ethic and bourgeois morality.[211]

Schapiro explains the use of domesticity as a type of moral behavioral signifier in terms of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century writings of Cardinal Peter d'Ailly and Jean Gerson.[212] D'Ailly and Gerson were the main proponents of the spread of the cult of St. Joseph, viewing him as an essential part of the messages of marital virtues, humilty, and morality

[211] Meyer Schapiro, "'Muscipula Diaboli,' the Symbolism of the Merode Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 184.
[212] Schapiro, "Muscipula Diaboli," 184.

embodied in the moment of the Annunciation. While Joseph plays a key role in the *Merode Altarpiece*, and in Schapiro's argument, the domestic ideas present in Campin's imagery can be applied to other types of Annunciation scenes. As David Robb notes:

> In employing a domestic interior for the Annunciation setting in the *Merode Altarpiece*, the Master of Flémalle gave definitive form to the conception of the subject that was to prevail in the Low Countries and Germany throughout the last three quarters of the fifteenth century and far into the sixteenth.[213]

Schapiro's interpretation of the significance of the domestic setting as a backdrop for the Annunciation relies heavily on a connection with the viewer and his/her role in interpreting the home as an integral part of a certain value system. Other interpretations of the link between domesticity and the Annunciation connect the household directly to textual sources that mention it.

Several Biblical sources refer to a bridal chamber which is understood as a metaphor for the bedrooms that often host Annunciation scenes. Such a chamber is mentioned in Psalms 19:4-5, "Their line is gone

[213] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," 507.

out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber."[214] Another chamber reference is found in the Song of Songs 1:4, "Draw me, we will run after thee: the king hath brought me into his chambers."[215]

Apocryphal texts more clearly visualize and locate the moment of the Annunciation in a house. The *Protoevangelium of James* describes:

> And she took the pitcher and went forth to draw water, and behold, a voice said: "Hail, thou that art highly favored, [the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou] among women." And she looked around on the right and on the left to see whence this voice came. And trembling she went to her house and put down the pitcher…[216]

For several theologians the home served as a visualization device during the act of prayer. Bernard of Clairvaux, instructing worshippers on constructing their prayers about the Annunciation says, "Approach this virginal bed, enter if you can the nuptial chamber…Put your ear to the keyhole, listen well to what he [Gabriel] announces and judge if that is

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[214] Shirley Neilsen Blum, "Hans Memling's Annunciation with Angelic Attendants," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), 43.
[215] Blum, "Hans Memling's Annunciation," 43.
[216] Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, Volume 1 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 380.

not a message consoling to you."[217] More explicit than Bernard of Clairvaux is a fifteenth century devotional manual written by Hendrik Mande. Reindert Falkenburg summarizes a portion of the text:

> It takes the form of a tour through a house and an adjacent garden, which are described in great detail as examples for the reader to follow in constructing a similar dwelling in his or her own soul. The text, which mentions the same kind of household utensils and furnishings that are depicted in the bourgeois interior of the *Merode Triptych*, relates how the dwelling in our heart should be cleaned, prepared, furnished, and decorated, with the expectation that the Heavenly Bridegroom will inhabit this "bridal suite." Individual objects and pieces of furniture are explained as, or in relation to, desirable properties of the soul…[218]

David Robb's seminal article on the iconography of the Annunciation discusses three different settings artists commonly used for Annunciation scenes. He argues that the development and use of these three backdrops – the exterior portico, the ecclesiastical, and the domestic – is determined largely by geographical precedent and artistic influence.[219] Flemish painters overwhelmingly selected the domestic interior as the

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[217] Cynthia Hahn, "'Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee': The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Merode Triptych," *Art Bulletin* 68 (March 1986), 54.
[218] Reindert Falkenburg, "The Household of the Soul: Conformity in the Merode Triptych," in *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies,* Maryan Ainsworth, ed. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 6.
[219] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," 480.

stage set for their Annunciation narratives as it adhered to textual traditions while allowing artists the freedom to shape compositions and objects within them in a manner that expressed a variety of ideas from devotion to identity. In the next section a case study of two Annunciation paintings will demonstrate how many interwoven factors contribute to the development of an Annunciation scene, its setting, and the objects its displays.

**A Tale of Two Cities and Two Annunciations: Bruges and Antwerp**

The quest to link domestic settings used in Annunciation scenes to a specific textual source is most likely an imperfect one. Furthermore, it seems impractical that painters would scour devotional tomes for compositional inspiration. There are cases where theological advisors were appointed to assist artists in the execution of a commission, especially those representing complex Biblical themes.[220] However, for a subject such as the Annunciation which was produced with great

[220] For example, Dieric Bouts *Holy Sacrament Altarpiece* contract names two theologians to assist him with the composition of the biblical scenes. For a translation of the contract see Wolfgang Stechow, *Northern Renaissance Art: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966).

regularity, the supervision of a cleric or scholar was probably unnecessary. Thus, painters creating Annunciation scenes most likely relied on emulating or re-interpreting depictions of the narrative within the context of their exposure to other masters' images (or competition from them) or patronage demands. Within this traditional iconographical framework artists manipulated objects and their depictions to send messages about their identity, their training, and their residences. Two examples of this documentation of the experiences of the painter are found in Annunciations produced by Hans Memling in Bruges and Joos van Cleve in Antwerp.

**Hans Memling's Clugny Annunciation of c.1465-1475: The City of Bruges**

> The reevaluation of the attributions of several paintings in the Metropolitan Museum's early Netherlandish painting collection presents an opportunity to consider a particular aspect of the state of the research in this field. New information provided by infrared reflecto-graphy and dendrochronology poses a challenge to long-held tenets about the oeuvres of even the most eminent painters of the Northern Renaissance…This informed reassessment of individual works is accompanied by more general inquiries into the

> production of paintings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the Netherlands, particularly with regard to the demands of the patron class and to the notion of artistic individuality versus the anonymity of workshop production.[221]

Maryan Ainsworth's words summarize the duality involved in the new scientific methods of connoisseurship: while the results of scientific analysis answer some questions they often raise others. Such is the case with the painting entitled the *Clugny Annunciation* (fig. 59) in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art whose attribution has been debated. Art historians have proposed that the panel was painted by Rogier van der Weyden, his workshop, or a young Hans Memling.[222] The Metropolitan Museum of Art label, covering all bases, reads "Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden (possibly Hans Memling)."

An analysis of signature spaces and signature objects leads me to believe that the attribution to a young Hans Memling is the most likely.

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[221] Maryan W. Ainsworth, "Implications of Revised Attributions in Netherlandish Painting," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), 59.

[222] For a historical summary of the attribution debate see Paul Flippen, *The Patronage of Ferry de Clugny, Cardinal-Bishop of Tournai: A Case Study in the Functions of Heraldry in Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Art, (*M.S. Thesis: Pratt Institute, 2000), 44-47.

Furthermore, an examination of the setting and items depicted suggests a painting that derived from the city of Bruges.

Just as Rogier van der Weyden created early compositions that made reference to the signature spaces of the Campin workshop, so too did Hans Memling assemble a signature space that reflects his artistic lineage in the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden.[223] In the *Clugny Annunciation* the space is dominated by a bed, showing the characteristic van der Weyden suspension system, placed next to a window. It is in looking through this window that we get the first hint of Memling's identification marks on the composition. Outside the Virgin's chamber is an enclosed garden, and while this detail is not unique to Memling's rendering of the Annunciation his garden style is an indicator of his hand. Memling's enclosed gardens are marked by crenellated walls and tower at one corner. The tower is composed of a wooden watch house placed over

[223] For information on Hans Memling's presence in Rogier van der Weyden's workshop see Ainsworth, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 114.

the entrance doors to the space and is flanked by crenellated stone walls and a rounded tower on one side.[224]

It is with this early painting that Hans Memling perhaps discovers what will eventually become a signature object for him: manipulated oriental rug designs. The rug in the *Clugny Annunciation* contains medallions displaying the double-key coat of arms of the painting's patron: Ferry de Clugny.[225] While this motif (like its matching representation in the stained glass shield of the window) clearly asserts the patronage of Ferry de Clugny, it may also have been the impetus to Memling to use an identical schema as his own identifier in later images.[226]

Other elements in the *Clugny Annunciation's* composition reflect the artistic practices of artists living and working in the city of Bruges. Documents record Memling's presence in Bruges in 1465 and the dating of the painting would correspond with his residence in the city.[227] For

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[224] This same garden view (with the tower on the opposite side of the garden) is seen in Memling's *Madonna and Child with Angels.*
[225] Flippen, *Patronage of Ferry de Clugny*, 6.
[226] Paul Flippen discusses the complex messages embodied in and communicated by the Clugny coat of arms (much beyond the simple identification of patronage) see Flippen, *Patronage of Ferry de Cluny*, 11-16.
[227] Ainsworth, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 114.

example, the unpainted furnishings and the prayer book displaying only textual passages references Bruges' painters attempts to control the painted work products of other types of craftsmen. The austerity of the Annunciations, such as Memling's, produced in Bruges is especially marked when these compositions are compared to those produced in the city of Antwerp.

**Joos van Cleve's Annunciation of 1525: The City of Antwerp**

Sometime during the middle years of the sixteenth century the Englishman Daniel Rogers penned an ode entitled, "Of the Magnificence of the City of Antwerp." It reads:

> Once did ancient Rome bloom with her trophies
> And it was renowned for her brilliant temples
> But the course of long time has worn everything away
> Rome lies fallen almost with the circuses,
> But well does it fall, for a new Rome is rising
> Where the Scheldt turns its waters in a whirling current.
> See the beautiful buildings of heavy marble rising,
> You will say that everything breathes with Roman glory
> When you see the good customs and craftsmen.
> For unless the predictions of my eager mind fail me
> Belgian Rome will not be lesser than the Italian.[228]

[228] John J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 5-6.

Rogers' hailing of Antwerp as a new Rome recognizes the city's status as the most powerful economic center in Europe during the sixteenth century. However, his unadulterated praise of the city overlooks the religious tensions hovering in its midst. The complex juxtaposition of commercial prosperity and religious strife is difficult to express in words. Instead we must turn to the visual imagery of the period which can combine these messages in a sophisticated way that words can not. Joos van Cleve's painting of the *Annunciation* (fig. 39) done around the year 1525 is an image that manages to capture and communicate both the material wealth and the religious environment in Antwerp in the years after the start of the Protestant Reformation.[229]

The aspect that sets van Cleve's painting apart from those produced in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, for example the *Clugny Annunciation* from Bruges discussed above, is the conspicuous display of objects within the composition. My use of the term

[229] The dating of Joos van Cleve's image to c.1525 is discussed by John Oliver Hand who argues that the style is in keeping with other dated/documented images from this time period. See John Oliver Hand, *Joos van Cleve: The Early and Mature Paintings* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1978), 192-215.

"conspicuous display" refers not to the clarity or the positioning of items within the composition but to the fact that Joos van Cleve fills his image with more objects than the typical Annunciation scene and renders them in a more ornate manner. Erwin Panofsky suggested that this overabundance of richly rendered objects reflects the more complex visual and iconographic schemes characteristic of the Antwerp Mannerist style.[230] I do not dispute Panofsky's assessment of the painting but feel it needs to be taken a step further. I do not believe that Joos van Cleve's conspicuous display can be explained simply as the culmination of stylistic and iconographic evolution at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Antwerp. Instead, I believe that the objects in the 1525 Annunciation communicated significant messages about the role of the artist and the practice of religion at the time the image was painted.

That Joos van Cleve's scene contains more objects than the typical Annunciation image can be demonstrated through the results of a statistical examination. The average Annunciation scene displays 4.75

[230] Erwin Panofsky, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 17 (December 1935): 452-53 n 32.

objects while Joos van Cleve's displays 9 – almost twice the statistical average.

In addition to showing more objects than the typical Annunciation scene Joos van Cleve chooses to depict these items in a much more elaborate, ornate manner. In particular, he highlights the role of the painted object within his interior space – an emphasis that clearly was avoided by earlier artists. A comparison of van Cleve's *Annunciation* to one attributed to Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 9) from the second quarter of the fifteenth century serves to illustrate this point.[231] Both compositions share some common features: the patterned tile floor, the brass chandalier, the majolica vase full of lilies, the pitcher and basin, and the presence of the same five furniture pieces. However, Joos van Cleve's image more heavily emphasizes what we refer to today as "pictures within pictures." In Rogier van der Weyden's *Annunciation* there is only one obvious religious image that decorates the painted domestic space and this is the enamel medallion depicting Christ as Salvator Mundi hanging within the

[231] For a discussion of the attribution of the image to the hand of Rogier van der Weyden see Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999), 197.

bed curtains.[232] Conversely, Joos van Cleve's *Annunciation* displays a variety of visual imagery: two stained glass roundels containing grisaille figures, a painted triptych placed on top of a dresser, a colored woodcut of Moses tacked to the wall, and an illuminated page in the manuscript in front of the Virgin. What accounts for the abundance of images in Joos van Cleve's painting? I would suggest two factors: first, a change in the production and marketing of paintings in the early sixteenth century and second, a reaction to the religious events taking place in the city of Antwerp in the years leading up to the creation of the painting.

If we return for a moment to my statistical study of the objects represented in paintings of domestic interiors we will discover the relative rarity of the occurrence of "images within images" in Annunciation scenes. All 56 of the Annunciation scenes I studied show the Virgin reading at the moment she is approached by Gabriel. In 38 of these paintings the viewer can clearly see the pages of the Virgin's book but in only two of these books does an illumination appear on the pages – the

[232] De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden,* 196.

other 36 just show lines of text.[233] When we turn to the statistics on prints we find an identical number with only two of the 56 Annunciation scenes containing a print.[234] Depictions of panel paintings occur with greater frequency than illuminations or prints as seven of the 56 Annunciation pictures show panel paintings within their domestic settings. However, it is important to note that this number could perhaps be considered inflated as four of the seven Annunciation scenes showing panel paintings were copies of a composition produced by the workshop of Albert Bouts.[235] What these statistics reveal is that it was rare to include a depiction of a panel painting, print, or manuscript illumination within an Annunciation scene. Furthermore, Joos van Cleve's *Annunciation* is the only one to show all three of these objects within a single composition.

The conspicuous display in Joos van Cleve's Annunciation scene can in large part be explained by the fact that by 1525 in Antwerp the

[233] The two paintings that show illuminations on the Virgin's manuscript pages are Joos van Cleve's Annunciation and an Annunciation by Bernard van Orley in Cambridge.
[234] The two paintings that show prints are Joos van Cleve's Annunciation and the *Brussels Annunciation* associated with the circle of Robert Campin.
[235] The seven Annunciation scenes that show panel paintings are the four mentioned by the circle of Albert Bouts, the Joos van Cleve, the Annunciation in the Detroit Institute of Arts by Gerard David, and one by Adrian Isenbrandt.

perceptions of divisions between painters and the supports they worked on seems to have softened. During the later years of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth century the way art was produced and marketed in the Netherlands started to change. Artists began selling works of art on speculation at market fairs rather than through the traditional contract system. Furthermore, Jean Wilson has noted that the increasing popularity of open art markets in the city of Bruges in the early sixteenth century resulted in the relaxation of many of the painters' guild restrictions.[236] As Antwerp gradually surpassed Bruges as the main center of trade in the Netherlands at the end of the fifteenth century its market fairs grew both in scope and popularity. The duration of the biannual fairs was steadily extended and eventually resulted in the establishment of a continuous year-round market by 1540.[237] As artistic marketing practices began to change, so did the production methods of artists. Painters developed areas of specialization and started

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[236] Jean C. Wilson, "The participation of painters in the Bruges 'pandt' market, 1512-1550," (*Burlington Magazine* 125, 1983), 479.
[237] Dan Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand," (*Art Bulletin*, 72, December 1990), 559, 569.

collaborating with other artists on compositions. One such collaborative relationship existed between Joachim Patinir, who specialized in painting landscapes, and Joos van Cleve, who painted figures against Patinir's vistas. This emerging collaborative environment and the interaction among painters at market fairs may have led artists such as Joos van Cleve to depict a variety of types of painted objects in their compositions.

In addition to reflecting the new production and marketing environment for art in Antwerp, Joos van Cleve's emphasis on "images within images" in his Annunciation also served to promote the importance of art in Catholic devotional practice at a time when the use of imagery as part of the religious experience was being questioned by some Protestant Reformers. In her description of the 1525 Annunciation Maryan Ainsworth states, "...Joos emphasizes how these objects would have been used as part of daily devotional practice."[238]

Reinforcing Catholic doctrine and practice was a clear objective of Antwerp in the years leading up to 1525 as the city dealt with the increasing threat of the spread of Protestantism. The production and

[238] Ainsworth, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel,* 364.

possession of printed materials containing the writings of Martin Luther or his followers was prohibited by Emperor Charles V in 1521 and in the following year Pope Adrian VI established the Commission of Inquisition for the Netherlands to enforce such restrictions.[239] In that same year the city of Antwerp expelled members of the Augustinian order who were perceived to be sympathetic to the teachings of Martin Luther.[240] In 1523 two members of the Antwerp Augustinian order, Henry Voes and John Esch were burned to death in Brussels after being convicted of heresy.[241] The first execution for heresy in Antwerp occurred in 1525 and it was during that year that the first incidences of iconoclasm were recorded in Antwerp.[242]

Joos van Cleve's Annunciation scene takes on heightened significance when viewed in light of the religious events that occurred during the years leading up to its production. It is clear from just a

[239] For information on Emperor Charles V's edicts see Petrus Johannes Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands: Part 2 From the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century to 1559*, Trans. Ruth Putnam (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 307-8. For information on Pope Adrian VI's establishment of the Inquisition see Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*, 35.
[240] Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*, 36.
[241] Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, 310.
[242] Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*, 36.

cursory examination of the iconography that the picture contains a variety of objects intended to be read as symbols of some of the central doctrines and rituals of the Catholic faith. John Oliver Hand has noted that the placement of the dove of the Holy Spirit between the woodcut of Moses holding the tablets of the Ten Commandments and the head of the Virgin indicates the transition from the era under the law to the era under grace that occurs at the moment of the Incarnation.[243] Erwin Panofsky discusses the symbolism of the small triptych on the dresser with the figures of Abraham and Melchisedek painted in grisaille on the exterior of the wings. Panofsky says that their depiction refers to a prefiguration of the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist as communicated in chapter sixteen of the *Mirror of Human Salvation*.[244] These "image within image" references are built upon a longstanding iconographical framework for depicting the narrative of the Annunciation. The lilies and the pitcher and basin with the linen towel are immediately recognizable as symbols of the purity of the Virgin. The lighted candle symbolizes the

[243] Hand, *Joos van Cleve,* 198.
[244] Panofsky, "Friedsam Annunciation," 452-53, n.32.

presence of God or Christ at the Incarnation.[245] The prominent bed with its bundled curtains also refers to the Incarnation as argued by Susan Koslow. She notes that artists recognized, "...a resemblance between the pendant shape of [the] sack and the like shape of the womb as it was *then* depicted."[246] John Oliver Hand has said of these details that:

> ...there is an ease of usage and placement here that suggests something of a standardization of the iconographic vocabulary – it is as if the specific gravity were altered and to the observer familiar with fifteenth-century paintings these items no longer seem 'difficult' or hermetic as do the same items in the works of Jan van Eyck or the Master of Flémalle. At the same time we should guard against the belief that such an iconographic program would have been any less religiously or emotionally significant for the sixteenth-century spectator.[247]

Hand's warning is important to heed. In fact, I believe the combination of traditional iconographic details with the new presentation of "images within the image"employed by Joos van Cleve was intended to be more religiously and emotionally significant to the sixteenth century viewer than standard fifteenth century depictions of the Annunciation

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[245] Panofsky, "Friedsam Annunciation," 452-53, n.32.
[246] Susan Koslow, "The Curtain-Sack: A Newly Discovered Incarnation Motif in Rogier van der Weyden's Columba Annunciation," (*Artibus et Historiae* 13, 1986), 12.
[247] Hand, *Joos van Cleve*, 198.

had been. The multiplicity of imagery present in Joos painting served to promote both the flourishing market for art in Antwerp as well as the role of that art in promoting the Catholic identity of the city in the early sixteenth century.

## CONCLUSION

In the opening pages of this study Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Peepshow* (figs. 1-2) was discussed as a means of introducing the issues surrounding the scholarship on domestic imagery of the seventeenth century. In their analysis of the *Peepshow* John Loughman and John Michael Montias questioned the seeming reality of the objects and settings Hoogstraten depicted.[248] They suggested that while on the surface Hoogstraten's painted interior looked real there were objects that were missing, out of character, or spatially manipulated. In addition, Loughman and Montias noted that Hoogstraten inserted both personal and iconographical references into his painting. Why was this done? The general consensus of scholars studying Dutch painting is that artists altered reality for aesthetic purposes both to demonstrate their skill and to appeal to the highly developed appreciation of painted renderings of seventeenth century patrons.[249]

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[248] Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 12.
[249] Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces,* 13 and Fock, "Semblance or Reality?," In *Art and Home*, 85-86, 94-96 and Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, xxv.

At the beginning of my study of fifteenth century Netherlandish domestic paintings I noted that painters working during that period engaged in some of the same practices as their seventeenth century Dutch counterparts. While individual objects were represented in realistic textures their placement or form was changed so that the overall setting was not an accurate mirror of actual interiors from the period. Since most scholarship on fifteenth century images with domestic backdrops has been confined to iconographical analyses of individual images I developed a statistical study as a tool to facilitate gaining a broader perspective on these paintings. This study helped in elucidating some of the motivations that may have influenced fifteenth century artists to manipulate the domestic settings in their compositions.

The statistical study of 287 fifteenth and early sixteenth century paintings with domestic interiors as their settings was organized around the structure of Max J. Friedländer's multivolume series of books *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Friedländer's focus was on the attribution of images to specific masters, their workshops, or their followers. When domestic images were examined within Friedländer's chronology it

became apparent that some of the manipulations of interior settings were repeated from composition to composition within the sphere of influence of a particular master. I termed this practice "signature spaces." Furthermore, when individual objects were examined in the context of the statistical study it was revealed that certain masters repeatedly depicted particular objects in specific forms in their paintings. I referred to this practice as "signature objects."

Why did artists employ "signature spaces" and "signature objects" in their paintings? I suggested that masters were attempting to establish visual signatures through specific groupings of or manipulations of architectural features or objects. The repetition of these constructed settings or motifs from composition to composition served to communicate a variety of messages about artistic identity. Signature spaces and objects could be used to identify the hand of a particular master or to make reference to an artist's training within another artist's workshop. In some instances signature spaces and signature objects served to document artistic rivalries and guild restrictions or to comment on panel painters' perception of their craft as superior to painting on other

supports. These devices could also be used to document the production of a painting in a specific city or location.

Although I have suggested that signature spaces and signature objects communicated specific messages about artistic identity it must be acknowledged that the repetition of settings or motifs also served a practical function within the environment of workshop production. Masters could quickly and economically create copies or replicas of popular compositions or subjects they found were in high demand. Furthermore, within the context of workshop production where multiple assistants could be contributing to the completion of an image, signature spaces and signature objects might also have functioned as devices that ensured consistent visual quality in paintings produced within the workshop despite the contribution of different hands. Thus, the construction of signature spaces/signature objects and the issue of workshop efficiency and productivity do not have to be mutually exclusive propositions.

In my discussion of signature spaces and signature objects I noted that certain subjects are commonly displayed against a home backdrop.

Scenes of the Annunciation, the Virgin and Child, and portraits are usually composed against or within domestic settings. The apparent links between particular subjects and the domestic setting do not eliminate the possibility that painters manipulated the homes or objects they painted to create visual identifiers. Artists instead integrated signature spaces and signature objects into traditional iconographic frameworks thus creating sophisticated layers of meaning within a single image.

If we acknowledge that masters created signature spaces and signature objects as a way of promoting ideas about their artistic identities then we must also examine how these signatures were received and interpreted by both patrons and other artists. Did fifteenth century viewers recognize these signatures? Jean Wilson has argued that the increased numbers of replicas and copies of fifteenth century paintings were patron driven. She writes:

> With this increased demand for painting, painters found themselves busier than perhaps many of their predecessors had been in supplying members of the community with the images which they desired. Certain painters appear to have begun to produce their images in multiple versions. Documentary evidence suggests that over the course of the fifteenth century, patrons occasionally commissioned paintings

> in multiple versions or may have requested that a copy be made of a particular painting…Seen collectively, such commissions for multiple examples of certain images make clear the importance of patrons' roles in the phenomenon of replication.[250]

The examples Jean Wilson cites of specific patrons who purchased multiple copies of a particular composition indicates that certain fifteenth century consumers valued and sought out either the images of a particular master or of certain subjects or quality.

Beyond the recognition of specific patrons who requested copies of compositions it also appears that wider audiences of patrons and other artists were increasingly being exposed to visual imagery through the development of commercial marketing practices for art during the fifteenth century. The frequency and popularity of trade fairs where works of art were displayed and sold allowed artists to display their wares together and gave patrons the opportunity to compare and contrast the images produced by different masters and workshops.[251] In this type of sales forum it is possible that artists attempted to set themselves apart from their peers by including settings or objects that could not only

[250] Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 88.
[251] See Jean Wilson's chapter entitled "The Rise of a Mass Market for Painting" in Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 163-187.

identify their hand but through their skill in rendering could attract the eyes of discerning patrons.

The fifteenth century was a time of transition when painters were emerging from the anonymous craftsman status of the Middle Ages into a time of greater individual recognition. Highly respected and greatly skilled court artists such as Jan van Eyck developed reputations for their artistic abilities and were hailed by contemporary chroniclers. At the same time, competition amongst artists for patrons and commissions could be fierce often resulting in legal battles or the drafting of restrictive guild statutes. Against this social backdrop, fifteenth century panel painters began to develop visual identifiers through their use of signature spaces and signature objects that documented themselves, their workshops, their artistic affiliations, and their civic pride.

**ILLUSTRATIONS**

FIGURE 1
Samuel van Hoogstraten. *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House.* c.1655-1660. National Gallery of Art, London.

FIGURE 2
Samuel van Hoogstraten. *Three Details of A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House.* c.1655-1660. National Gallery of Art, London.

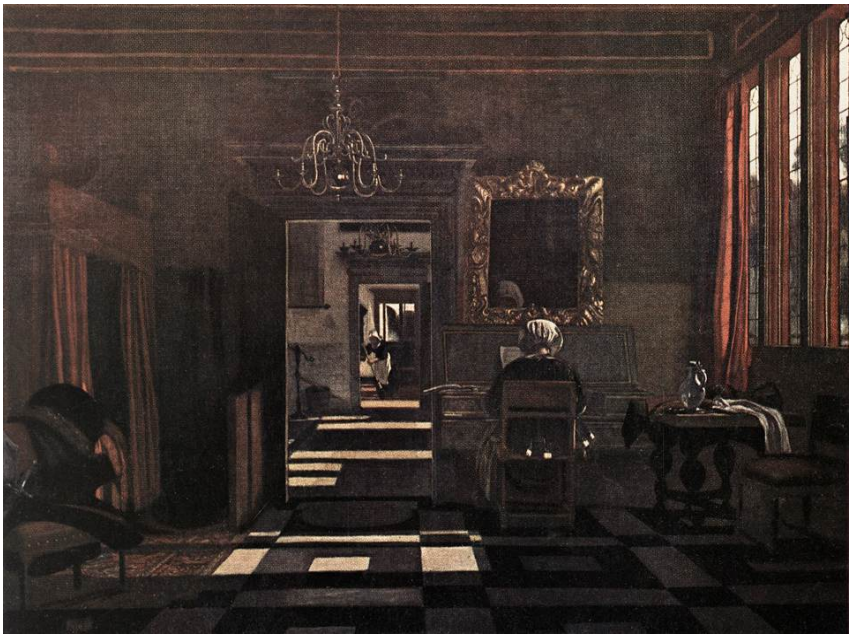

FIGURE 3
Emanuel de Witte. *Interior with a Woman at the Virginals.* c.1665.
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

FIGURE 4
Willem Kalf. *Still Life with a Nautilus Cup.* 1662.
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid.

FIGURE 5
Jan van Eyck. *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife.* 1434.
National Gallery of Art, London.

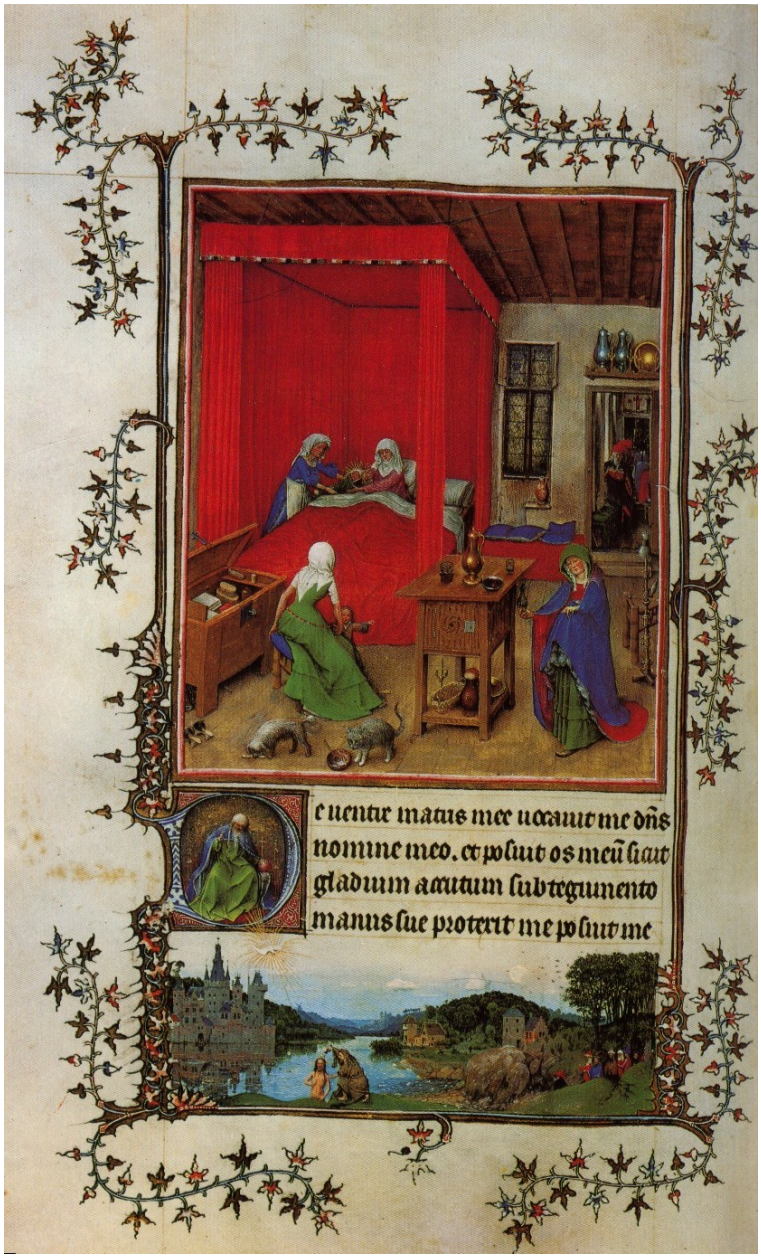


FIGURE 6
Jan van Eyck (?). *Birth of Saint John the Baptist from the Turin-Milan Hours.* c.1435. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Milan.

FIGURE 7
Robert Campin. *Merode Altarpiece*. c.1425. Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cloisters).

FIGURE 8
Jan van Eyck. *Lucca Madonna.* c.1436. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

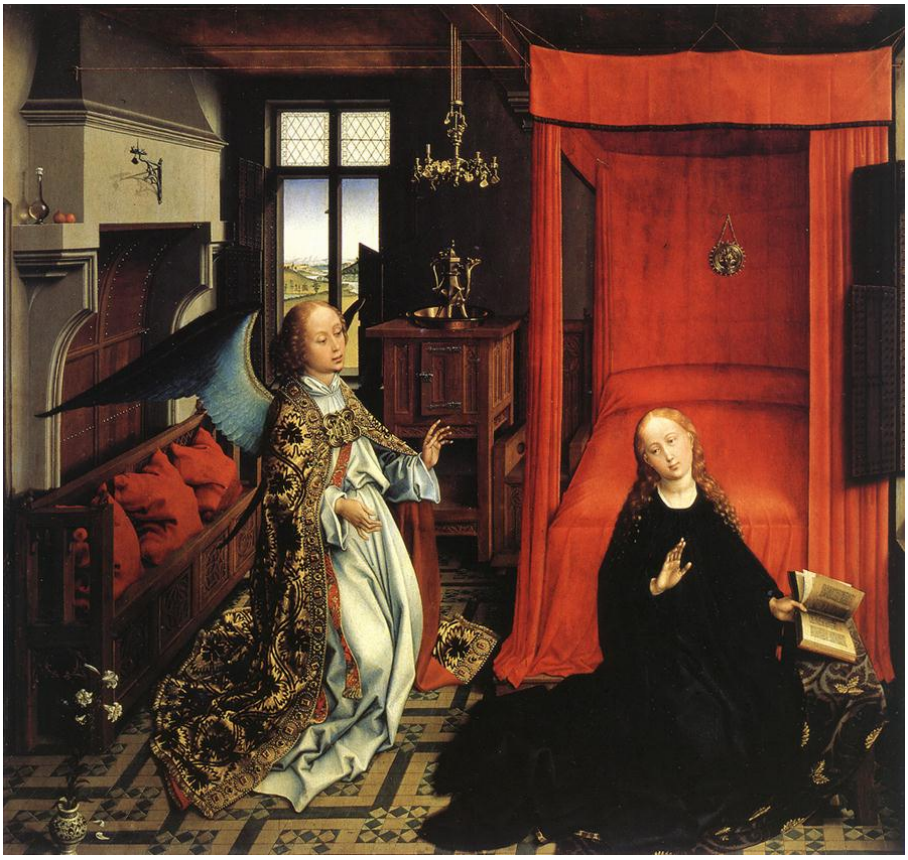

FIGURE 9
Rogier van der Weyden. *Louvre Annunciation*. c.1440.
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

FIGURE 10
Robert Campin. *Salting Madonna.* c.1430.
National Gallery of Art, London.

FIGURE 11
Follower of Jan van Eyck. *Ince Hall Madonna.* c.1433.
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

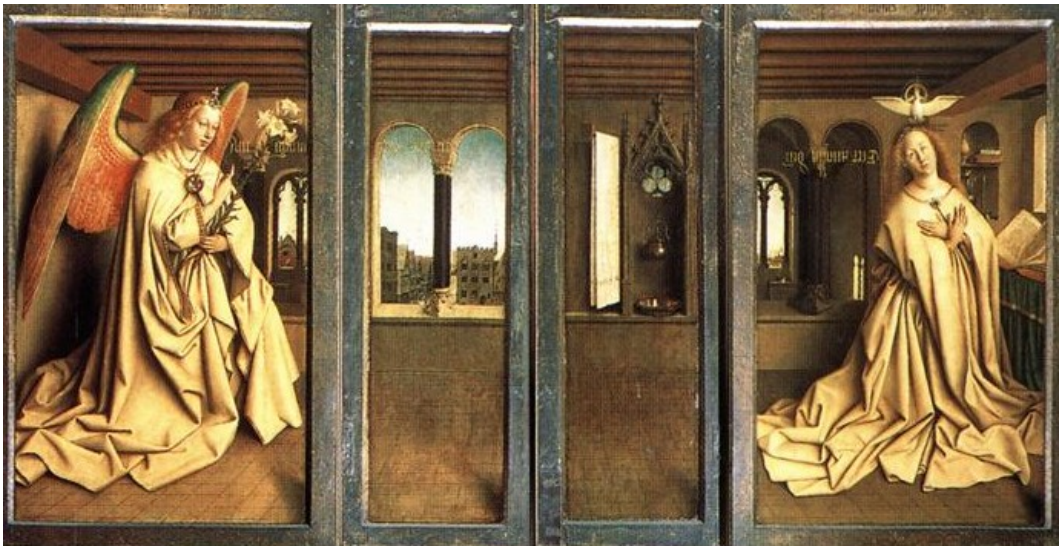

FIGURE 12
Jan van Eyck. *Annunciation Scene from the Ghent Altarpiece.* 1432.
Church of Saint Bavo, Ghent.

FIGURE 13
Jan van Eyck. *Madonna with Chancellor Nicholas Rolin*.
c.1436. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

FIGURE 14
Jan van Eyck. *Annunciation*. c.1435.
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

FIGURE 15
Jan van Eyck. *Madonna in a Church.* c.1425.
Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

FIGURE 16
Jan van Eyck. *Madonna and Child Triptych.* c.1437.
Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

FIGURE 17
Jan van Eyck. *Madonna with Canon George van der Paele.* c.1436.
Groeninge Museum, Bruges.

FIGURE 18
Petrus Christus. *Madonna and Child in an Interior.* c.1460.
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

FIGURE 19
Petrus Christus. *Annunciation.* 1452. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

FIGURE 20
Petrus Christus. *Death of the Virgin*. 1457-1467.
Timken Art Gallery, San Diego.

FIGURE 21
Petrus Christus. *St. Jerome.* 1442. Detroit Institute of Arts.

FIGURE 22
Petrus Christus. *Portrait of a Young Lady*. c.1460.
Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

FIGURE 23
Petrus Christus. *Portrait of Edward Grymeston*. 1446.
Earl of Verulam Collection, London.

FIGURE 24
Petrus Christus. *Portrait of a Young Man.* c.1460.
National Gallery of Art, London.

FIGURE 25
Petrus Christus. *Portrait of a Male Donor.* c.1455.
National Gallery of Art, Washington.

FIGURE 26
Petrus Christus. *Portrait of a Female Donor.* c.1455.
National Gallery of Art, Washington.

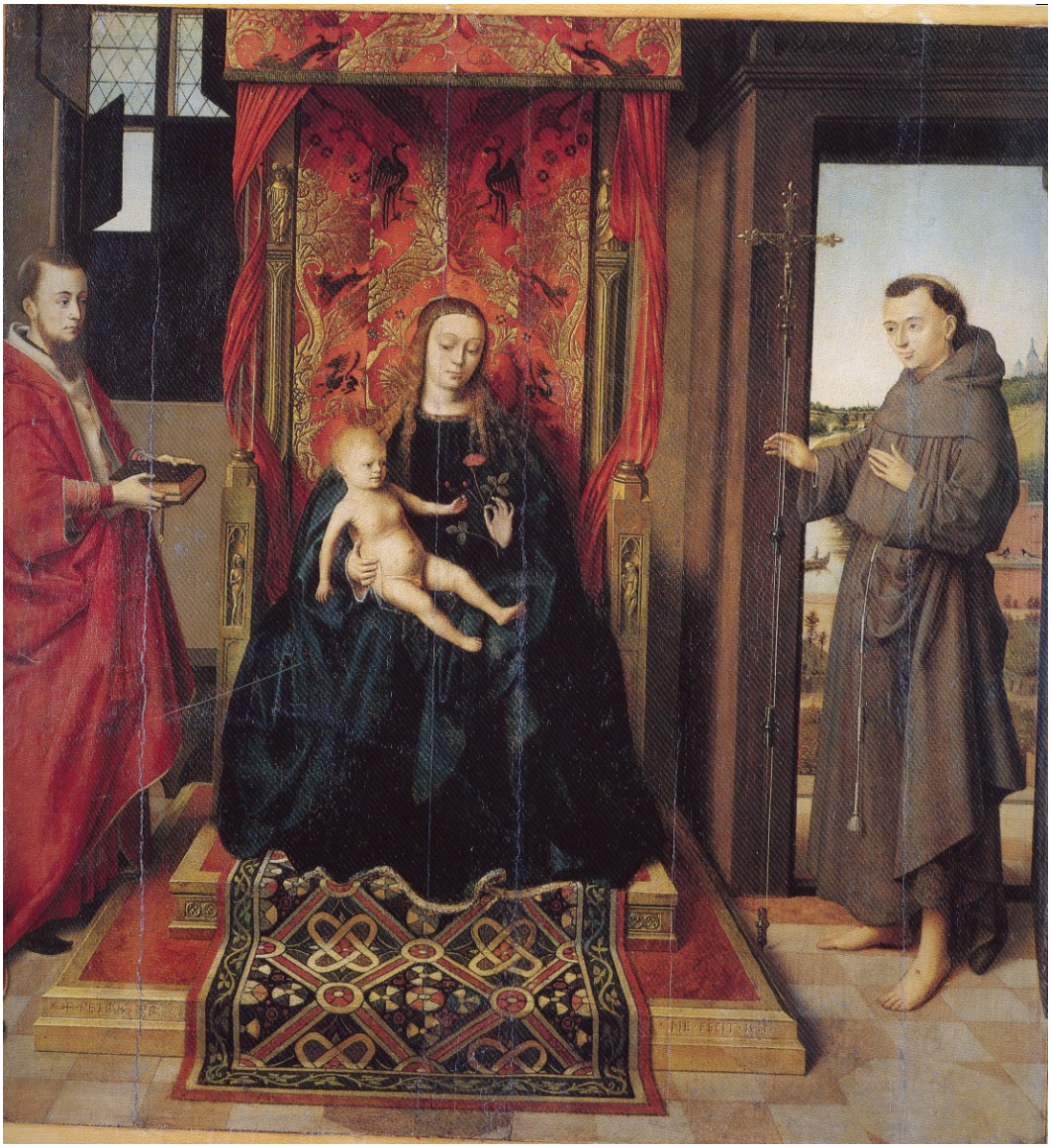

FIGURE 27
Petrus Christus. *Virgin Enthroned with Saints Jerome and Francis.* 1457.
Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

FIGURE 28
Petrus Christus. *Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos.* c.1441-1443. Frick Collection, New York.

FIGURE 29
Workshop of Robert Campin. *Virgin and Child in an Interior.*
before 1432. National Gallery of Art, London.

FIGURE 30
Robert Campin. *Virgin and Child*. 1433-1435.
The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

FIGURE 31
Robert Campin. *Werl Altarpiece Wings*. 1438. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

FIGURE 32
Gerard David. *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup.* c.1520.
Aurora Trust Collection, New York.

FIGURE 33
Gerard David. *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup.* c.1520.
Genoa, Palazzo Bianco.

FIGURE 34
Gerard David. *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup.* c.1520.
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Belgique, Brussels.

FIGURE 35
Gerard David. *Virgin and Child with Milk Soup.* c.1520.
Deutz Collection, San Diego.

FIGURE 36
Dieric Bouts. *Annunciation.* c.1460. Gulbenkian Foundation, Portugal.

FIGURE 37
Albert Bouts. *Annunciation.* c.1480. Cleveland Museum of Art.

FIGURE 38
Follower of Dieric Bouts. *Ehningen Annunciation.* c.1480.
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie.

FIGURE 39
Joos van Cleve. *Annunciation.* c.1525. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

FIGURE 40
Joos van Cleve. *Death of the Virgin.* 1520. Wallraf-Richartz Museum,Cologne.

FIGURE 41
Joos van Cleve. *Death of the Virgin.* 1520. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

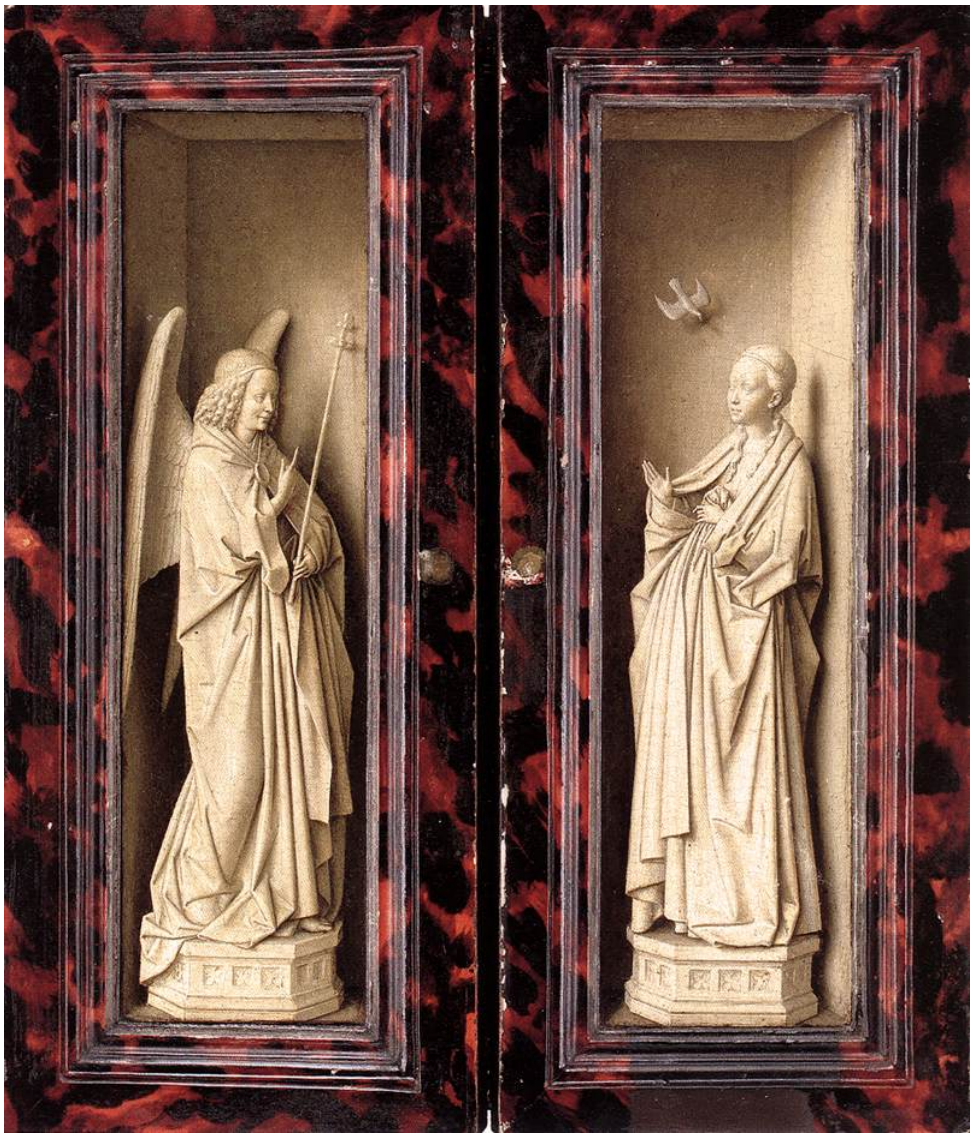

FIGURE 42
Jan van Eyck. *Exterior of Madonna and Child Triptych.* c.1437.
Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

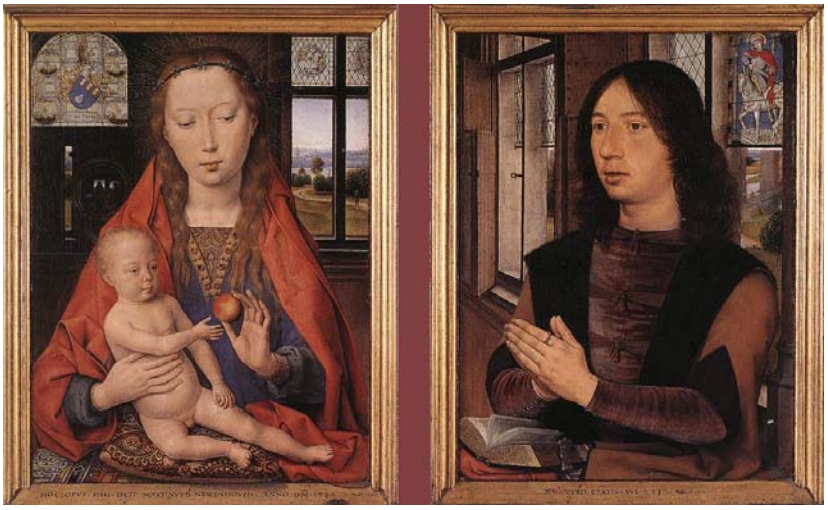

FIGURE 43
Hans Memling. *Diptych of Martin van Nieuwenhove.* 1487.
Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.

FIGURE 44
Robert Campin. *Detail of Merode Altarpiece*. c.1425.
Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cloisters).

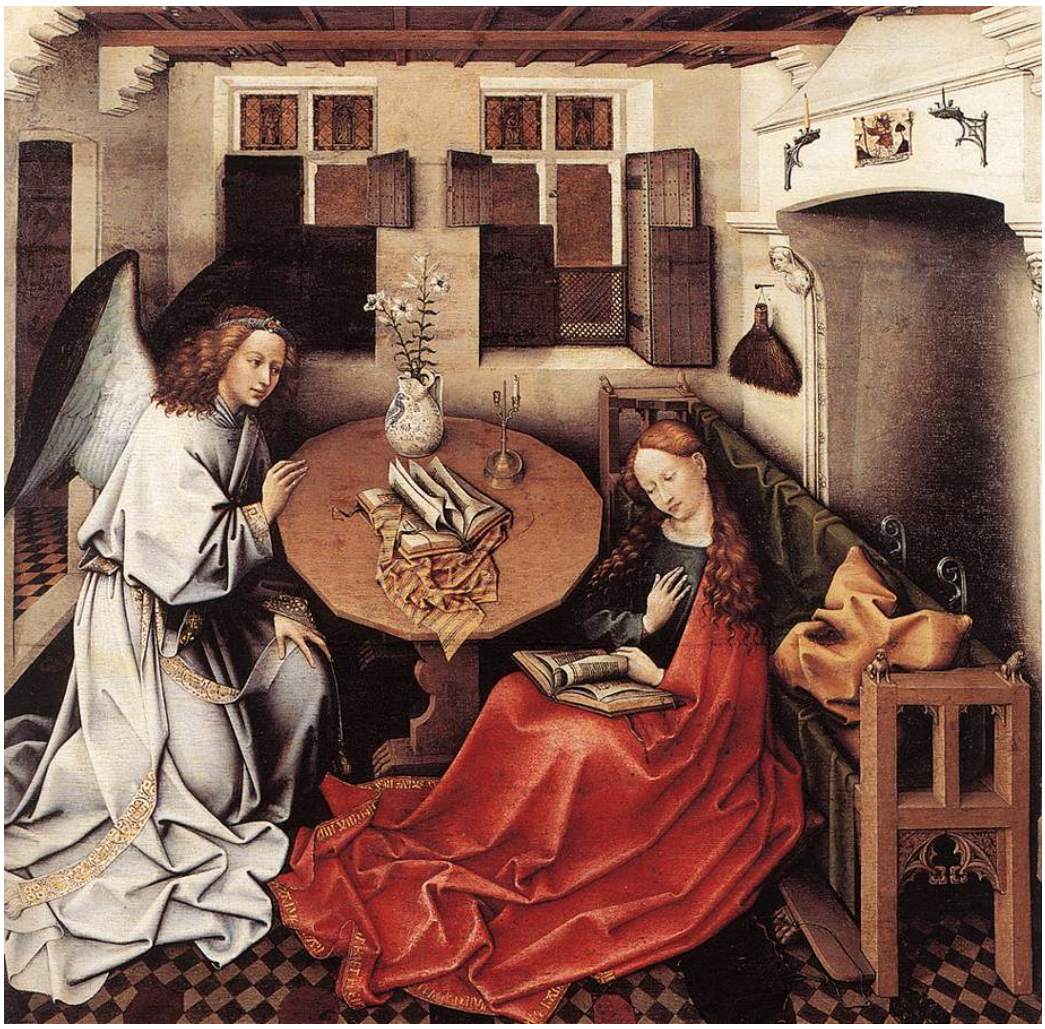

FIGURE 45
Follower of Robert Campin. *Brussels Annunciation.* c.1430.
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

FIGURE 46
Derik Baegert. *Saint Luke Painting the Madonna.* c.1485.
Landesmuseum, Münster.

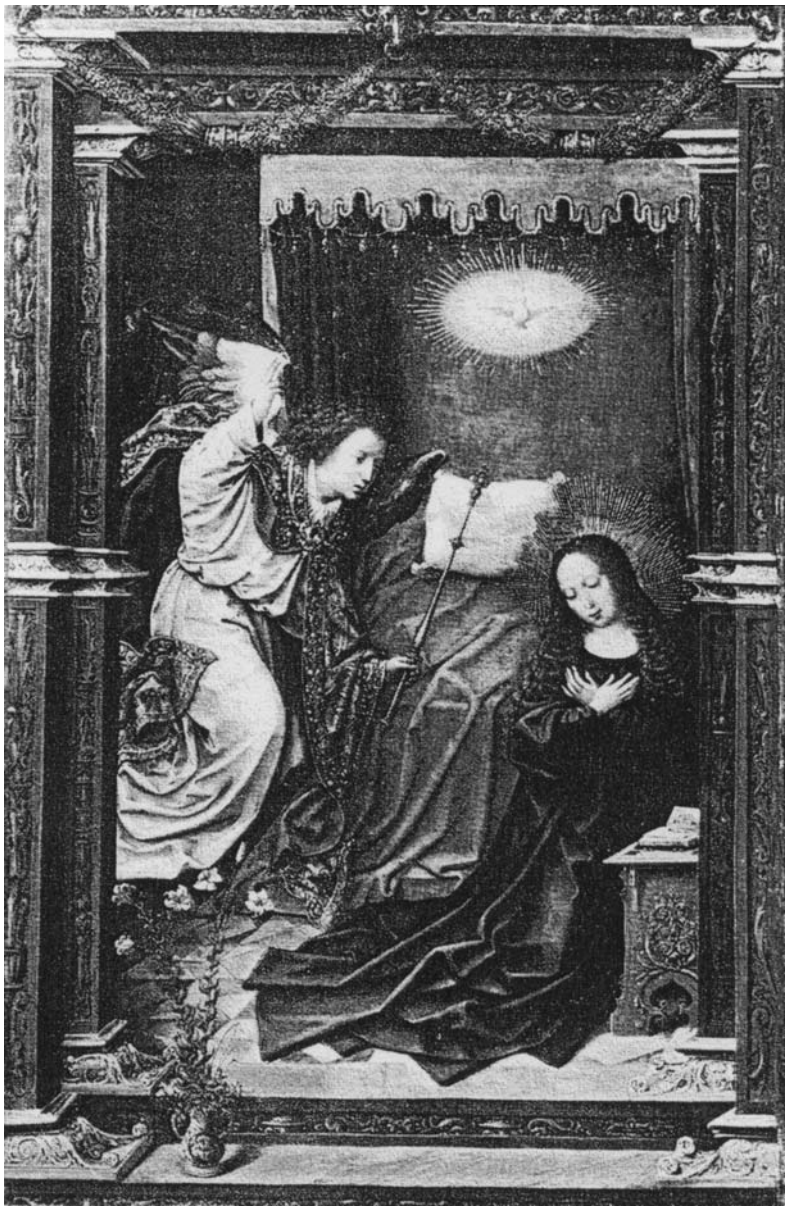

FIGURE 47
Bernard van Orley. *Annunciation.* c.1518. Oslo, National Gallery.

FIGURE 48
Bernard van Orley. *Annunciation.* c.1517.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

FIGURE 49
Gerard David. *Annunciation.* 1506.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

FIGURE 50
Jan Provost. *Annunciation.* c.1520. Genoa, Palazzo Bianco.

FIGURE 51
Master of the Brunswick Diptych. *Annunciation.*
Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.


FIGURE 52
Hieronymous Cock. *Portrait of Rogier van der Weyden.* 1572.

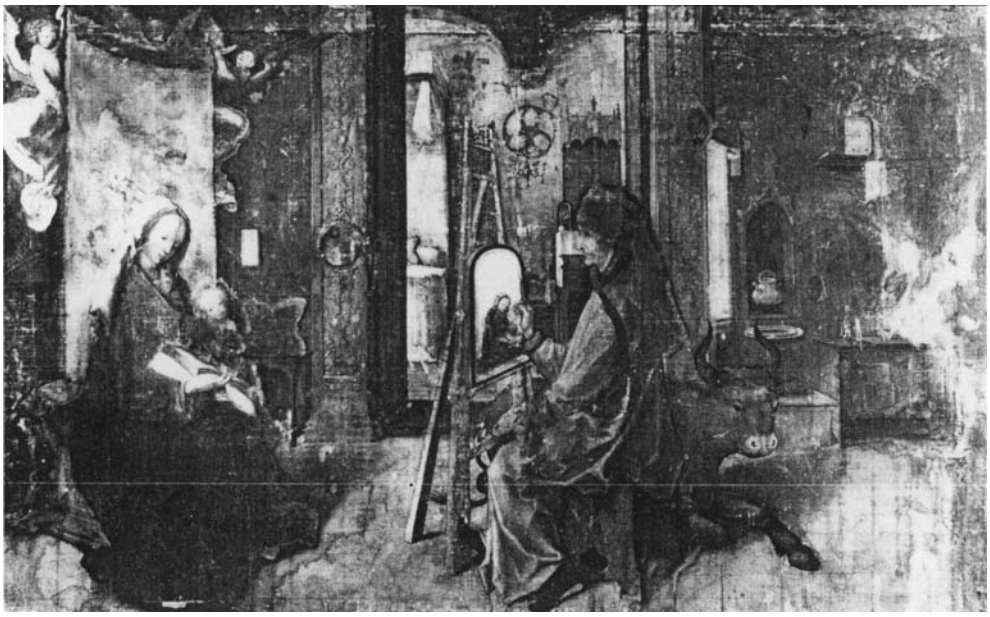

FIGURE 53
Jan de Beer. *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin.* c.1505-1510.
Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

FIGURE 54
Jean le Tavernier. *Philip the Good during Mass.* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9092, fol. 9r.


FIGURE 55
*Pope Sixtus IV praying before the Virgin in the Sun.*
British Museum, Ms. Add. 35313, fol. 237r.

FIGURE 56
Master of the Legend of Saint Catherine. *Legend of Saint Catherine.*
Private Collection.

FIGURE 57
Bernard van Orley. *Legend of Saint Catherine.*
Brussels, Musées des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

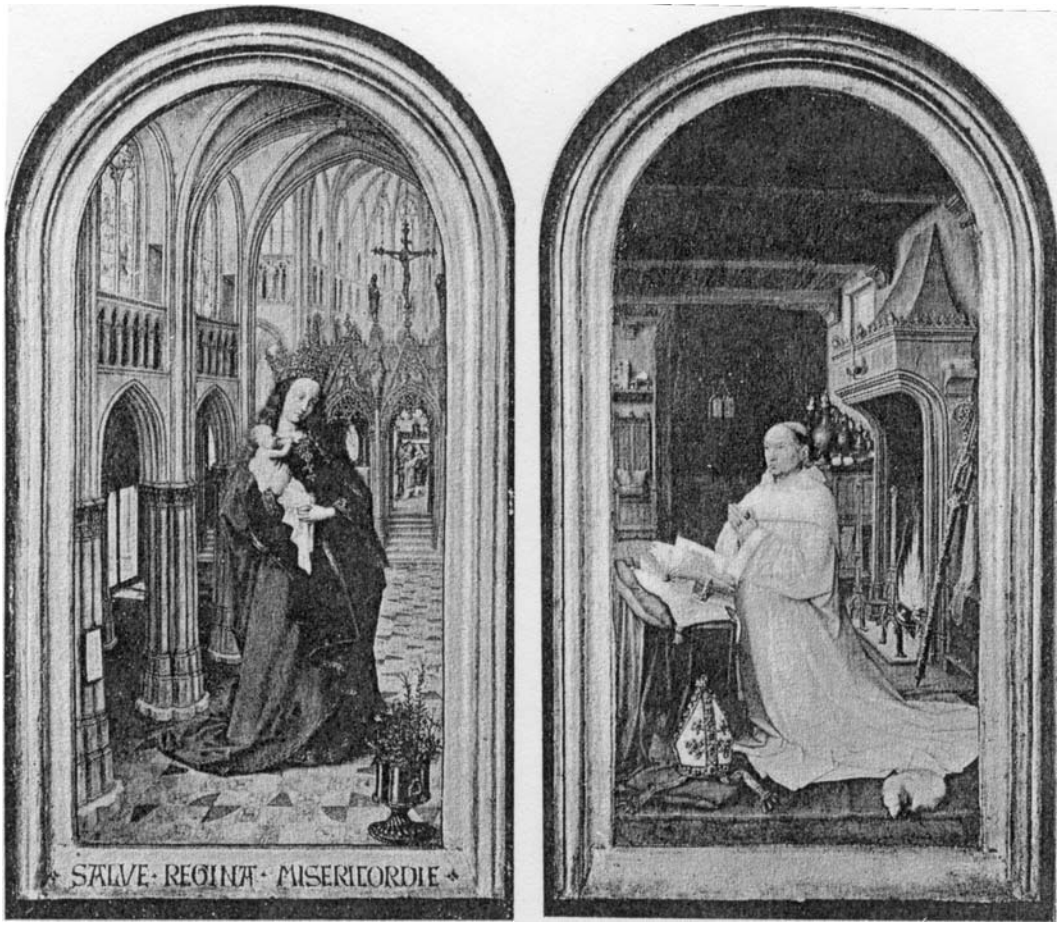


FIGURE 58
Master of 1499. *Diptych of Christian de Hondt*. 1499.
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

FIGURE 59
Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden. *Clugny Annunciation.*
1465-1475. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

## APPENDIX

## Statistical Study

### Key to Numerical Designations on Statistical Charts

**Books**

1 = Book with visible text
2 = Closed book
3 = Open book but positioned so pages are not visible
4 = Open book but page design/content difficult to see
5 = Book displaying pictorial illumination

**Candles**

6 = Single candle holder with candle
7 = Long, hand-held taper candle
8 = Single candle holder attached to the wall without a candle
9 = Single candle holder attached to the wall with a candle
10 = Chandelier with one or more candles
11 = Chandelier without candles
12 = Single candle holder without candle
13 = Single candle holder attached to the wall with candle and round reflective plate behind
14 = Candle holder with single stem, two branches, one candle
15 = Candle holder with single stem, three branches, one candle

**Furniture**

16 = Presentation bed
17 = Complete bed
18 = Bed with no canopy/bed curtains
19 = Built-in bed
20 = Dresser on high stand
21 = Dresser on high stand with canopy
22 = Stepped dresser
23 = Dresser with short legs

24 = Wall cabinet
25 = Chest
26 = Bench with back and no floor runner
27 = Bench without back
28 = Prayer bench with flat top
29 = Prayer bench with angled top
30 = Stepped prayer bench
31 = Bench with back and floor runner
32 = High back chair
33 = Throne
34 = One person bench/chair
35 = Three legged stool
36 = Three legged stool with back
37 = Rectangular stool
38 = Folding stool
39 = Foot stool
40 = Built-in shelves
81 = Table
82 = Reading stand
83 = Desk

**Glass**

41 = Smooth beaker
42 = Beaker with prunts
43 = Smooth, footed beaker
44 = Footed beaker with prunts
45 = Smooth drinking bowl
46 = Drinking bowl with prunts
47 = Smooth, stemmed goblet
48 = Stemmed goblet with prunts
49 = Pitcher/ewer
50 = Covered goblet
51 = Flask

**Metal**

52 = Pitcher
53 = Ewer
54 = Basin
55 = Plates
56 = Chalice
57 = Flask
58 = Covered dish
59 = Small bowls
60 = Footed or plain cups
61 = Knives
62 = Vase
63 = Armor
64 = Hanging lantern/lamp
65 = Pail
66 = Censer
67 = Chamber pot

**Textiles**

68 = Linen towel
69 = Plain wool furniture drape
70 = Plain wool bed curtains and/or coverings
71 = Combination bed curtains (velvet and wool)
72 = Patterned velvet canopy
73 = Patterned velvet furniture drape
74 = Plain wool canopy
75 = Plain cushions
76 = Patterned velvet cushions
77 = Embroidered or tapestry cushions
83 = Plain wool curtains

**Stained Glass**

78 = Heraldic design
79 = Decorative design
80 = Figural design

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | Ghent Annunciation | x | 1,2 | x | 12 |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | Ince Hall Madonna | x | 1 | x | 15 |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | Arnolfini Wedding | | | x | 10 |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | Lucca Madonna | | | x | 12 |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | Portrait Edward Grymeston | | | | |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | Annunciation (Berlin) | x | 1 | | |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | Virgin Enthroned Jerome | x | 2 | | |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | Portrait Young Lady | | | | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | Portrait of Young Man | x | 1 | | |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | St. Jerome | x | 1,2 | | |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | Portraits of Donors | x | 1 | | |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | Virgin and Child (Kansas City | x | 1 | x | 11 |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | Death of the Virgin | x | 2 | x | 7 |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | Birth of St. John (Berlin) | | | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | Birth of St. John (Frankfurt) | | | | |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyde | Annunciation (Antwerp) | x | 1 | | |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyde | Annunciation (Louvre) | x | 1 | x | 8,11 |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyde | Mary Magdalene Reading | x | 1 | | |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyde | Dream of Pope Sergius | x | 3 | | |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyde | Bladelin Altarpiece | | | | |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyde | Annunciation (New York) | x | 1 | | |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyde | Annunciation (Columba) | x | 1 | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | Merode Altarpiece | x | 1,3 | x | 6,8,9 |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | Annunciation (Cassel) | x | 1,3 | x | 6,8,9 |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | Annunciation (Genoa) | x | 1,3 | x | 6,8,9 |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | Annunciation (Brussels) | x | 1(2) | x | 8,9,14 |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | Salting Madonna | x | 1 | | |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | Virgin and Child (Leningrad) | | | | |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | Werl Altarpiece Shutters | x | 1 | x | 9 |
| II 103 | Anonymous | Death of the Virgin | x | 1,2 | x | 6,7 |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | Virgin and Child (Brussels) | | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | Virgin and Child (Cassel) | | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | Virgin and Child with Donor | | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | Virgin and Child (St. Louis) | | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | Virgin and Child (Tournai) | | | | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | Holy Family | | | | |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | Tiburtine Sibyl | | | | |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | Female Donor w/ St. Margare | x | 1 | | |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | Holy Family | x | 1 | x | 8(2) |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | Annunciation (Dijon) | x | 4 | | |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | Annunciation (Madrid) | x | 1 | x | 11 |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | Portrait of a Man | | | | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | Virgin and Child (London) | | | | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | Jesus in House of Simon | | | x | 8(2) |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | Altarpiece of Holy Sacrament | | | x | 11 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | | |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | x | 23 |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | x | 17,25,31,32 |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | x | 33 |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | | |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | x | 17,28,35 |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | x | 33 |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | | |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | x | 23,32,40 |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | x | 29 |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | x | 17,25,32,35 |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | x | 17,23,25,35 |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,20,32 |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,20,32 |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,31,32 |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,20,26,28 |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyde | x | 20 |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,29 |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17 |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,28,31 |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyde | x | 17,27,30 |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 31,81 |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 31,81 |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 31,81 |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | x | 31,81 |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | x | 25,26,35 |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | x | 35 |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | x | 20,31 |
| II 103 | Anonymous | x | 18,20,32 |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | x | 25,31 |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | x | 17 |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | x | 26,28 |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | x | 26 |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | x | 17,28 |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | x | 20,28,31 |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | x | 27,81 |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | x | 20,21,26,34,81 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | | | |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | x | 47,50 | |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | | | |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | x | 51 | |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | | | x |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | | | |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | | | |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | | | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | | | x |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | x | 51 | |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | | | x |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | | | |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyde | x | 51 | |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyde | x | 51 | |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyden | | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | | | |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | x | 51 | |
| II 103 | Anonymous | x | 51 | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | | | |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | | | |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | | | |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | | | |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | | | |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | | | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | | | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | x | 41(2),42 | |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | x | 41(6),42(5) | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | x | 52,53,54 | | |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | x | 52,54 | x | |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | | | x | |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | | 54 | x | |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | | | | |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | | 62 | | |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | | | x | |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | | | | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | | | | |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | | | | |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | | | | |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | | 67 | | |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | x | 65,66 | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52(2),58(2) | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52(2),58(2) | | |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52 | | |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52,54 | | |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyden | | | | |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyden | | | | |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyden | | | | |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52 | x | |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyde | x | 52 | x | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 53 | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 53 | | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x | 53 | | |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | | | | |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | x | 56 | | |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | x | 52,54 | | |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | x | 52(2),54 | | |
| II 103 | Anonymous | x | 57 | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | x | 52 | | |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | | | | |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | | | | |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | | | | |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | x | 52 | | |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | x | 52 | | |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | | | | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | | | | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | x | 55(2),61(2) | | |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | x | 52,54,55(2),58(3),61(7) | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | | | | | x | 68,69 | | | |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | | | | | x | 69,70,75 | | | x |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | | | | | | | | | |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | | | | | | 70 | x | 79 | |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | | | | | | | | | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | | | x | | | | | | |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | | | | | x | 69,75 | x | 79 | |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | | x | | | | | | | |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | | | | | x | 69,70,75(7) | | | |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | | | | | x | 69,70,75(4) | | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | | | | | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | | | | | |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | x | 69,70,75(2) | | | |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | x | 70,73,75(3) | | | |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | | | | | |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | x | 70,73 | | | |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | | | x | 78 | |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | x | 70,75 | x | 78 | |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyden | | | | | x | 71,75(2) | x | 79 | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | | | x | 68,69,75 | x | 78 | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | | | x | 68,69,75 | x | 78 | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | | | | | x | 68,69,75 | x | 78 | |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | | x | | | x | 69,75 | x | 80 | |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | | | | | x | 69,75 | | | |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | | | | | x | 68 | | | |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | | | x | | x | 68,69,75(3) | x | 78 | x |
| II 103 | Anonymous | | | | | x | 68 | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | | | | x | 78 | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | | | | | | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | | | | | x | 72 | x | 80 | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | | | x | 76 | | | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | | | | | x | 76 | | | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | | | | | x | 69,75 | | | |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | | | | | x | 70 | x | 78 | |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | | | | | x | 69,75 | | | |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | | | | | | | | | |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | | | | | x | 69,75(2) | x | 78 | |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | | | | | | | | | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | | | | | x | 72,76 | x | 79 | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | | | x | | x | 68,69 | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| I 14-15 | Jan van Eyck | |
| I 19 | Jan van Eyck | |
| I 20 | Jan van Eyck | |
| I 52 | Jan van Eyck | |
| I 73 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 77 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 78 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 80 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 91 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 103 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 104 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 109 | Petrus Christus | |
| I 111 | Petrus Christus | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 4 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 16 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 17 | R. van der Weyde | x |
| II 20 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 39 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 59 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 69 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 72 | R. van der Weyden | |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x |
| II 77 | Robert Campin | x |
| II 80 | Robert Campin | x |
| II 85 | Robert Campin | |
| II 93 | Robert Campin | |
| II 96-97 | Robert Campin | |
| II 103 | Anonymous | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 120 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 124 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 126 | Garofalo | |
| II 133 | Rogier Follower | |
| II 140 | V. van der Stockt | |
| II 143 | Campin Follower | x |
| II 143 | V. van der Stockt | |
| III 2 | Dieric Bouts | |
| III 20 | Dieric Bouts | |
| III 22 | Dieric Bouts | |
| III 24 | Dieric Bouts | |
| III 26 | Dieric Bouts | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | Annunciation | x | 1 | | |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | Virgin and Child (New York) | | | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | Annunciation (Munich) | x | 1,2 | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | Annunciation (Cleveland) | x | 1,2 | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | Annunciation (Berlin) | x | 1,2 | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | Virgin Worshipped by Joseph | | | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | Jesus in House of Simon | | | | |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | Last Supper | | | | |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | Annunciation (Holy Saturday) | x | 2 | | |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | Annunciation (Aachen) | x | 1 | | |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | Annunciation (Richmond) | x | 1,2 | | |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | Annunciation (Ehningen) | x | 1,2 | | |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | Annunciation (Cracow) | x | 2 | | |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | Solon | x | 1 | | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | Bartolus | x | 1 | | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | St. Albertus Magnus | x | 1 | | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | Sixtus IV | x | 2 | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | Plato | x | 1 | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | Aristotle | x | 2 | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | Ptolemy | | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | Boethius | x | 2 | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | Cicero | x | 1 | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | Seneca | x | 3 | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | Homer | x | 2 | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | Virgil | x | 2 | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | Euclid | | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | Vittorino | x | 2 | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | Hippocrates | x | 2 | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | Pietro d'Albano | x | 2 | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | Dante | x | 2 | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | Petrarca | x | 2 | | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | F. Montefeltre w/ Son | x | 3 | | |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | Montefeltre w/ Son &… | x | 2 | | |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | Death of the Virgin | x | 2 | x | 7 |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | Death of the Virgin (Bruges) | x | 2 | x | 7 |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | Death of the Virgin (Valenc.) | x | 2 | x | 7 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | Death of the Virgin (Berlin) | x | 1,2 | x | 7 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | Death of the Virgin (Prague) | x | 1,2 | x | 7 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | Death of the Virgin (London) | x | 1,2 | x | 6,7 |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | Diptych of Christian de Hondt | x | 1 | x | 9 |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | Annunciation (Berlin) | x | 1 | | |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | Legend of St. Catherine | | | | |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | Last Supper | | | x | 8 |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | Annunciation (Florence) | x | 1 | | |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | Annunciation (Brussels) | x | 1 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | x | 27,29,40 |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 27,28 |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 27,28 |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 27,28 |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 27,34,81 |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 34,81 |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 17,28,32 |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 27,29,40 |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | x | 27,29,40 |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | x | 25,27 |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | x | 27,28 |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | x | 33,82 |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | x | 33,82 |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | x | 18 |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 18 |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 17 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 17 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 17 |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 18,20,32 |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | x | 17,20,29,32 |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | x | 20,29 |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 17,29 |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 21,34,35,81 |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 17,20,28,32 |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | x | 17,28,32 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | | | |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 49 | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 49 | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 49 | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 41(2),42 | |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 41(2),42(3) | |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | | | |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | | | |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | x | 49 | |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | x | 49,51 | x |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | x | 49 | |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | | | |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 51 | |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | | | x |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | | | |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 41(6) | |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | x | 49 | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | | | | |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | | | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | x |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | x |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | x |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 52 | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 55(2),58,61(2) | | |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | x | 52,55,56,61(2) | | |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | | | | |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | x | 52 | | x |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | | | | |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | x | 63 | | |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | | | | |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | x | 64 | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 64 | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 64 | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 64,66 | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 64,66 | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | x | 57,64,66 | | |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | x | 52(5) | | x |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | x | 52(2),58 | | |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | | x |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 52(4),55(2),58,59(4),61(4) | | |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | x | 52,57 | x | |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | | | | | x | 69,75(2) | | | |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | x | | x | 69,73,75(3) | x | 78 | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 69,75(2) | | | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 69,73,75(2) | | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 72,75(2) | | | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | | | | | x | 75 | | | |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | | | | | x | 75 | | | |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | | | x | | x | 69,73,75(2) | | | |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | | | | | x | 75(4) | | | |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | | | | | | | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | | | | | | | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | | | | | | | | | |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | | | | | | | | | |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | | | x | 71 | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | | | | | x | 68 | | | |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | | | | | x | 69,70,75(3) | | | |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | | | | | x | 75,83 | | | |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | x | | x | 68,69 | x | | |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| III 42 | Dieric Bouts | |
| III 53 | Bouts Follower | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 60 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 61 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 64 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 68 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 76 | Albrecht Bouts | |
| III 88 | Dieric Bouts Copy | |
| III 89 | D. Bouts Follower | |
| III 90 | D. Bouts Follower | |
| III 106 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 107 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 108 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 109 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 110 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 111 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 112 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 113 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 114 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 115 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 116 | Joos van Gent | |
| III 117 | Joos van Gent | |
| IV 22 | H. van der Goes | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | |
| IV 23 | H. vd Goes Copy | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | |
| IV 38 | H. vd Goes Copy | |
| IV 44 | Master of 1499 | |
| IV 47 | Master of 1499 | |
| IV 50 | Mstr. St. Cath. | |
| IV 51 | Mstr. St. Cath. | |
| IV 54 | Mstr. St. Cath. | |
| IV 72 | Mstr. St. Joeseph | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | Annunciation (Private) | x | 4 | | |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | Virgin and Child (Chicago) | x | 1 | | |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | Virgin w/ St. Luke | x | 1 | x | 8 |
| IV 101 | de Coter Worksho | Last Supper | | | | |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | Portrait of a Man (New York) | | | | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | St. Catherine w/ Philosophers | x | 3 | x | 8 |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | Christ and Sorrowing Virgin | | | | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | Untitled | | | | |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | Christ at the Column | | | x | 9 |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | Annunciation/Birth of Virgin | x | 4 | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | Virgin and Child (Berlin) | | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | Virgin and Child (Milan) | | | | |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | Annunciation (Glasgow) | x | 1 | | |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | Holy Family | x | 2 | | |
| V 25 | Anonymous | Birth of St. John | | | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | Annunciation (Rotterdam) | x | 1 | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | Last Supper | | | | |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | Annunciation (Madrid) | x | 4 | | |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | Annunciation (Salzburg) | x | 2,4 | | |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | Annunciation (Amersfoort) | x | 4 | | |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | Annunciation (Aachen) | x | 1 | | |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | Marriage at Cana | | | | |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | Seven Deadly Sins | x | 1,2,3 | x | 6,7,13 |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | Death of the Miser | | | | |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | Virgin with Angels | | | | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | Diptych M. van Nieuwenhove | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | Devotional Triptych | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | Annunciation (New York) | x | 1 | x | 12 |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | Diptych V & C w/ Donor | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | Virgin and Child w/ Angel | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | V & C w/ Angel (Berlin) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | V & C w/ Donor (Ottawa) | | | | |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | Annunciation (Glasgow) | x | 1,2 | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | Virgin and Child (New York) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | Annunciation (Madrid) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | Portrait of a Man (Phil.) | | | | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | Virgin and Child w/ Angel | x | 2 | | |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | Portrait Shutters | x | 1,2 | | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | Female Saint w/ Donors | x | 1 | | |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | St. Anne Altarpiece | | | | |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | Annunciation (New York) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | Annunciation (Detroit) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | Annunciation (Frankfurt) | x | 1 | | |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | Christ Standing | | | | |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | Virgin and Child | x | 2 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | x | 17,20,28 |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | x | 17,23 |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | x | 26 |
| IV 101 | de Coter Worksho | x | 35,81 |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | x | 17 |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | x | 20,33 |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | x | 17,20,26,29 |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | x | 17 |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | x | 17,29,36 |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | x | 20,26,81 |
| V 25 | Anonymous | x | 17,25 |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 17 |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 34,81 |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 18,28(2) |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 17 |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 17,28 |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 17,28 |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | x | 22,27(2),34,81 |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | x | 18,20,26,32(3),35(3),36,81(3) |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | x | 17,25 |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | | |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | x | 17,20,28 |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | x | 20 |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | x | 28 |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | x | 34 |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | x | 26 |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | x | 17,20,30,34 |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | x | 17,28 |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | x | 21 |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | x | 17,19 |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | x | 17,26,28 |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | x | 17,28,32 |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | x | 17,31 |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | x | 31 |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | x | 20,27,81 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | | | |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | x | 41,49 | |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | | | |
| IV 101 | de Coter Workshop | | | |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | | | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | | | |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | | | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | | | |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | | | |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | | | |
| V 25 | Anonymous | | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | | | x |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | | | |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | | | x |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | | | |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | | | |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | | | |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | x | 41(5) | |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | | | |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | | | |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | | | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | | | |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | | | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | x | 51 | |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | x | 49 | |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | | | |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | | | |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | | | |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | x | 51 | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | | | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | | | |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | x | 52 | | |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | x | 52(2),54 | | |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | | | | x |
| IV 101 | de Coter Worksho | x | 55,56 | | |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | | | | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | | | | |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | | | | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | x | 52(3),54,57,58(2),59 | x | |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | | |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | x | 52(2),54,55 | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | | |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | | | | |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | x | 52,55,58,59(2),61 | | |
| V 25 | Anonymous | x | 54,59 | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 52 | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 52(2),53,55,59(2),61(5) | | |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 52 | | |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | x | 52 | | |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | x | 52(8),55,58,59,61(5) | | |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | x | 52(5),54,55(2) | | |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | x | 63 | | |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | | | x | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | | | x | |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | | | x | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | x | 52 | | |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | | | | |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | | | | |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | x | 52 | x | |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | | | | |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | x | 52(2) | x | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | x | |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | | | | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | x | 52,59 | | |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | | x |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | x | 52,54 | | |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | | | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | | x |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | | |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | | | | |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | x | 52,61 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | | | x | | | | | | x |
| IV 101 | de Coter Workshop | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | | | | | | | | | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | | | | | | | x | | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | | | | | x | 72 | x | | |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | | | | | x | 72 | x | | |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | | | | | x | 69,70,75 | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | | | | x | x | 70 | | | |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | | | | x | x | 69(2),77 | | | |
| V 25 | Anonymous | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 75(2) | | | |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | | | | | x | 69,72 | | | |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | | | | | x | 68,69,75 | | | |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | | | x | | x | 70 | | | |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | | | | | x | 76 | x | 80 | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 76 | x | 78,80 | x |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | | x | | | x | 76 | | | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 76 | | | x |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | | | | | x | 68,72,75 | | | |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | | | | | x | 78 | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | | | | | x | 68,70 | | | |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | | | | | x | 70,75(2) | | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | | | | | x | 70,75(2) | | | |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | | | | | | | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| IV 75 | Rogier Follower | |
| IV 91 | Colijn de Coter | |
| IV 92 | Colijn de Coter | |
| IV 101 | de Coter Workshop | |
| IV 106 | H. van der Goes | |
| IV 110 | Mstr. St. Gudule | |
| IV 112 | Colijn de Coter | |
| IV 118 | Mstr. Khanenko | |
| IV 119 | Mstr. St. Cath. | |
| IV 121 | Mstr. Evora | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | |
| V 11 | Geertgen | |
| V 18 | Mstr. Brunswick | x |
| V 23 | Jan Mostaert | |
| V 25 | Anonymous | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 29 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 31 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 32 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 34 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 41 | Mstr. Virgin | |
| V 54 | Jerome Bosch | |
| V 95 | Jerome Bosch | |
| V 117 | Jerome Bosch | |
| VI (1) 49 | Memling Copy | |
| VI (1) 52-53 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 66 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 79 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 98 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 102 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 104 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 107 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 125 | Hans Memling | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | |
| VI (1) 131 | Memling Follower | |
| VI (1) 143 | Mstr. Ursula | |
| VI (1) 144 | Mstr. Ursula | x |
| VI (1) 148 | Mstr. Baroncelli | |
| VI (1) 149 | Mstr. Baroncelli | |
| VI (2) 181 | Gerard David | |
| VI (2) 186 | Gerard David | x |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | x |
| VI (2) 189 | Gerard David | |
| VI (2) 204 | Gerard David | |
| VI (2) 208 | Gerard David | x |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | Virgin and Child (Brussels) | x | 2 | | |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | Virgin and Child (Genoa) | x | 2 | | |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | Virgin and Child (Fullerton) | x | 2 | | |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | Virgin and Child (Strasbourg) | x | 2 | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | Vision of Augustine | x | 2 | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | Death of Augustine | x | 3 | x | 6(3),7 |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | Legend of St. Nicholas | | | x | 6 |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | Annunciation Altarpiece | x | 1,2 | | |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | Death of St. Anne | | | x | 7 |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | Virgin and Child (Louvre) | | | | |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | Jesus and John as Boys | | | | |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | Portrait of Erasmus | x | 1,2 | | |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | Portrait of Peter Giles | x | 2 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | Portrait of Erasmus (Amster) | x | 1 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | Portrait of Peter Giles (Antw) | x | 2 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | Portrait of Erasmus (NY) | x | 1 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | Portrait of Peter Giles (Paris) | x | 2 | | |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | Virgin and Child (Munich) | | | x | 6 |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | Virgin and Child (London) | | | x | 6 |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | St. Jerome | x | 2,5 | x | 6 |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | Magdelene Reading | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | Jesus in House of Simon | | | | |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | Holy Family | | | | |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | Annunciation (Philadelphia) | x | 1 | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | Birth of the Virgin | | | x | 13 |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | Death of the Virgin | x | 2,3 | x | 7 |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | Jesus in House of Simon | | | | |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | Death of the Virgin | x | 1 | x | 7 |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | Portraits of Husband & Wife | x | 1(2) | | |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | Virgin and Child | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | Virgin and Child | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | Virgin and Child | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | Annunciation | x | 4 | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | Death of the Virgin | x | 1,2,3 | x | 6,7 |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | Altar of Visitations of Job | | | | |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | Birth of John the Baptist | | | | |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | Virgin and Child w/ Saints | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | Birth of the Virgin | | | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | Annunciation (Seven Sorrows | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | Christ Appears (7 Sorrows) | x | 4 | | |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | Virgin & Child w/ St. Cath. | | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | Annunciation (Oslo) | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | Annunciation (Cambridge) | x | 1 | x | 10 |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | Christ at Home of his Mother | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | Virgin and Child w/ Donor | x | 1 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | x | 20,27,81 |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | x | 20,27,81 |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | x | 20,27,81 |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | x | 27,81 |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | x | 26,32,40,82 |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | x | 17,81 |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | x | 18(3),20(2),32(2),81 |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | x | 17,28,32 |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | x | 17 |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | x | 17 |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | x | 18 |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | x | 40,83 |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | x | 40,83 |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | x | 83 |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | x | 40,83 |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | x | 83 |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | x | 40,83 |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | x | 17 |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | x | 17 |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | x | 40,82,83 |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | x | 17,83 |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 81 |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | x | 17 |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | x | 17,28,31 |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | x | 17,20 |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | x | 17,28 |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 81 |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 17 |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | x | 20, 28(2) |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | x | 33 |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | x | 33 |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | x | 33 |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28,32 |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | x | 17,20,26 |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | x | 17(2),20,22,81 |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | x | 19,28 |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | x | 17 |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | x | 17,20,29 |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | x | 81 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | | | |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | | | |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | | | |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | x | 41 | |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | | | |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | | | |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | x | 42 | |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | | | |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | | | |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | | | |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | | | |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | | | |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | | | |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | | | |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | | | |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | | | x |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | | | |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | x | 41 | |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | x | 52,53,61 | | |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | x | 52,53,61 | | |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | x | 52,53,61 | | |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | x | 61 | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | | | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | x | 52,54,55(3),64,65,66 | x | x |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | x | 52(2),67 | | |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | | | | |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | | | | |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | x | 55,61 | | |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | | | | |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | | | | |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | x | 58 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | x | 58 | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | x | 58 | | |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | | | | |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | | | | |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | | | | |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | | | | |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 52,55(2),59(2) | | |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | | | | |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | X | 62 | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | x | 52,60 | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | x | 65,66 | | |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 55,60(4),61(2) | | |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | x | 66 | | |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | x | 57 | | |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | x | 58,66 | | |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | x | 52(4),53,54,55(2),57(2),58(2),59(2) | | |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | x | 54 | | |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | x | 52,54 | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | x | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | | | | x |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | x | 52 | | |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | | | x | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | | | | | | | | | |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | | | | | x | 75(2) | | | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | | | x | | x | 68,70 | | | |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | | | | | x | 69,70,75 | | | |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | | | | | x | 70 | x | 79 | |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | | | | | | | | | |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | | | | | x | 70,75(2) | | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | | | | | x | 71 | | | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | | | | x | x | 68,70,73,76 | x | 80 | |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | x |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 68,70 | | | x |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 72 | x | 78 | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | | | x | | x | 68,70 | x | 80 | |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | | | | | | | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| VI (2) 209 | David Replica | x |
| VI (2) 210 | David Replica | |
| VI (2) 211 | Gerard David | |
| VI (2) 212 | David Copy | x |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | |
| VI (2) 241 | Mstr. St. August. | |
| VI (2) 242 | Mstr. St. Lucy | x |
| VI (2) 254 | Mstr. Ursula | x |
| VII 7 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 28 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 34 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 40 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 41 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | |
| VII 42 | Massys Copy | |
| VII 42 | Massys Replica | |
| VII 62 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 62 | Massys Copy | |
| VII 64 | Quentin Massys | |
| VII 65 | Massys Workshop | |
| VII 74 | Mstr. Morrison | |
| VII 79 | Mstr. Mansi | |
| VII 84 | Mstr. Hoogstraten | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | |
| VII 100 | Mstr. Frankfort | |
| VII 123 | Mstr. Morrison | |
| VII 131 | Mstr. Morrison | |
| VIII 14 | Jan Gossart | |
| VIII 30 | Jan Gossart | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | |
| VIII 30 | Gossart Copy | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 76 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 81 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 90 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 91 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 92 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | x |
| VIII 94 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 100 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | x |
| VIII 101 | B. van Orley | x |
| VIII 107 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 115 | B. van Orley | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | Virgin and Child w/Donor | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | Virgin and Child w/ Donor | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | Virgin and Child (Los Angeles | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | Virgin and Child (Brussels) | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | Portrait of Physician | x | 1,2 | | |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | Portrait of Jean Carondelet | x | 1 | | |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | Portrait of Minister of State | x | 2 | | |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | Birth of the Virgin | | | | |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | Jesus in House of Simon | | | | |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | Death of the Virgin | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | Christ Taking Leave | | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | Birth of the Virgin | | | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | Death of the Virgin | | | x | 7 |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | Death of the Virgin (Cologne) | x | 1,2 | x | 7,13 |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | Death of the Virgin (Munich) | x | 1,3 | x | 6(3),7 |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | Last Supper | | | | |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | Annunciation (New York) | x | 5 | x | 10,13 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | St. Jerome | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | St. Jerome (Nordstemmen) | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | St. Jerome (Philadelphia) | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | St. Jerome | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | St. Jerome (Salzburg) | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | St. Jerome | x | 1 | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | Virgin and Child | | | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | Virgin and Child | x | 1 | | |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | Virgin and Child (Vienna) | | | | |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | Holy Family (64b) | | | | |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | Holy Family (New York) | | | | |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | Holy Family (65b) | | | | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | Portrait of a Man | x | 2 | | |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | Portrait of Couple (Florence) | | | x | 6 |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | Joseph and Potiphar's Wife | | | | |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | Annunciation (Stourhead) | x | 3 | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | Birth of the Virgin | | | x | 10 |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | Annunciation (Rotterdam) | x | 1 | | |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | Christ Appears to his Mother | x | 4 | | |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | Annunciation | x | 1 | | |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | Annunciation (Genoa) | x | 1 | x | 6(3) |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | Virgin and Child (Strasbourg) | | | | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | Feast of Pentecost | x | 1,2 | x | 9 |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | Holy Family | x | 2 | | |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | Christ Appears to his Mother | | | | |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | Christ in House of Lazarus | | | | |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyder | Last Supper | | | | |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyder | Annunciation (Munich) | x | 4 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | x | 81 |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | x | 81 |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | x | 81 |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | x | 81 |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | x | 83 |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | x | 82 |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | x | 83 |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 17,20,32 |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 35,81 |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 17,28 |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 17 |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 17,81 |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | x | 17,20 |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | x | 17,20,22 |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | x | 17,20,28 |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | x | 34(2),81 |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | x | 17,20,26,28,34 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 82,83 |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | | |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 81 |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | x | 81 |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 81 |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | x | 81 |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | x | 40 |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | | |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | x | 17 |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | x | 17,22,28 |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | x | 17,20 |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | x | 31 |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | x | 20,28,31 |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | x | 17,28,31 |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | x | 17,20,24,31,32 |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | x | 28,31(2) |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | x | 20,26,81 |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | x | 26,28 |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | x | 21,26 |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyden | x | 27,34,36,81(2) |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyden | x | 17,28 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | | | |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | | | |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | | | |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | | | |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | | | |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | | | |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | x | 51 | |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | | | |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 42,51 | |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 50 | |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | x | 50 | |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 50 | |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | x | 50,51 | |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 51 | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | | | |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | x | 51 | |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | | | |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | | | |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | | | |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | | | |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | | | x |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | | | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | | | |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | | | |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | | | |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | | | |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyden | | | |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyden | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | x | |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | | |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | | | x | |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | | | x | |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | | | x | x |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | | | | |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 52(3) | | |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 52(2),55,58,61 | | |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 54 | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | x | 53,54(3),60 | | |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | x | 57,60,65,66 | | |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | x | 53,54,65,66 | | X |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | x | 52,65,66 | | x |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | x | 55,57,58,60,61(4) | | |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | x | 53,54 | | x |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 65 | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 53,54,65 | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | x | 65 | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 65 | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 65 | | |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 62 | | |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 55,61 | | |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | x | 61 | | |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | x | 55,57 | | |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | x | 55,61 | | |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | x | 63 | | |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | | | | |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | | | | |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | | | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | x | 57,58,59 | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | | | | |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | | | | |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | | | x | |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | x | 52 | | |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | x | 62 | | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | x | 53 | | |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | x | 52,55,58,59(2),61 | | |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | | | | |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | x | 52(6),55 | | |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyden | x | 52(3),54,55,59,60(3)61(2) | | |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | | | | | x | 69,83 | | | |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | | | | | | | x | 80 | |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | | | | | | | x | 80 | |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | | | | x | | | | | |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | | | | x | | | | | |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | | | | | | | | | |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | | x | 68,79,70 | x | 79 | |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | | x | 69,74 | x | 79 | |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | | | | | x | 68,69,70 | | | |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 68,70,76(2) | x | 80 | |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 69,72 | x | 78 | |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | | x | | | x | 69,70,75 | x | 80 | x |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 77 | | | |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | | | | | |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | | | | | | | | | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | | | | | | | | | |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | | | | | x | 69,72,75(2) | | | |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | | | | | x | 69,75(2) | | | |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | | | | | x | 70,77(2) | | | |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | | x | | | x | 70,75(6) | | | |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | | | | | | | | | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | | | | | x | 68 | | | |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | | | | | x | 69,77 | | | |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | | | | | | | | | |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | | x | 70 | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | |
| VIII 115 | Orley Copy | |
| VIII 116 | Orley Copy | |
| VIII 116 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 121 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 123 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 125 | B. van Orley | |
| VIII 129 | J. van Coninxloo | |
| VIII 130 | J. van Coninxloo | |
| VIII 132 | J. van Coninxloo | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | |
| VIII 133 | J. van Coninxloo | |
| IX (1) 5 | Jan Joest | |
| IX (1) 33 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 35 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 45 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 47 | Joos van Cleve | x |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 57 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 57 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 71 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 72 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 77 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 81 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 82 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 82 | J. van Cleve Copy | |
| IX (1) 106 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 125 | Joos van Cleve | |
| IX (1) 132 | C. van Cleve | |
| IX (2) 144 | Jan Provost | x |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | x |
| IX (2) 148 | Jan Provost | x |
| IX (2) 149 | Jan Provost | |
| IX (2) 164 | Jan Provost | |
| IX (2) 165 | Jan Provost | |
| IX (2) 180 | Jan Provost | |
| X 13 | Jan Mostaert | |
| X 15 | Jan Mostaert | |
| X 34 | Mstr. Alkmaar | |
| X 69 | C. Engelbrechtsz | |
| X 86 | Lucas van Leyden | |
| X 91 | Lucas van Leyden | x |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyder | Legend of St. Sebastian | | | x | 15 |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyder | The Card Players | | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyder | The Card Players | | | | |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | Last Supper | | | | |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | Death of the Virgin | x | 1,3 | x | 7,13 |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | Christ takes Leave of Women | | | | |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | Birth of St. John | | | x | 13 |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | St. Luke Painting the Virgin | x | 4 | x | 11 |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | Legend of the Prodigal Son | | | | |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | Death of St. Dominic | x | 1 | x | 6,7 |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | Birth of the Virgin | | | x | 6 |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | Annunciation | x | 1 | x | 6,11 |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | Last Supper | | | | |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | Annunciation | | | | |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | Altarpiece Shutters | x | 1 | | |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | Death of the Virgin | | | x | 6,7,10,13 |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | Annunciation | x | 1 | | |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | Annunciation to Joachim | x | 1 | | |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | Christ in House of Simon | | | | |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | Birth of the Virgin | | | x | 9,10 |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | Annunciation | x | 1 | | |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | Annunciation | x | 1 | x | 6(2) |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | Virgin Enthroned | x | 1 | | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | Portrait of a Man | | | | |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | Portrait of Husband and Wife | | | | |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | Annunciation (Brussels) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | Holy Family | | | x | 6(2),10 |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | Annunciation | x | 1 | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | Virgin and Child | | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | Virgin and Child (New York) | | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Paris) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (86) | x | 4 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (87) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Buenos Aire | x | 1 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (89) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (91) | | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (92) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (93) | | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Düsseldorf) | x | 2 | x | 6 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (95) | x | 2 | x | 6 |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Hamburg) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Rotterdam) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Turin) | x | 1 | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene (Poznan) | | | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | The Magdelene | | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyder | x | 17,81 |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyder | x | 36,81 |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyder | x | 20,81 |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | x | 27,37(2),81 |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | x | 17,26,32 |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | x | 26,27 |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | x | 17,20,28,32 |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | x | 17,21,27,81 |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | x | 17,20,81 |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | x | 18,25,32 |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | x | 17,21,31,81 |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | x | 17,20,25,27,28,31 |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | x | 35(2),36,81 |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | x | 20,26,29 |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | x | 17 |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | x | 17,31,81 |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | x | 17,21,29 |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | x | 17,20,27 |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | x | 81(3) |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | x | 17(2),20,32,81 |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | x | 17,29 |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | x | 17,20,31 |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | x | 20 |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | | |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | x | 17,28,32 |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | x | 20,28,31 |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 17,26,28 |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 17,33,81 |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 31,33,81 |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 82 |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 34,81,82 |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 17,21,81 |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 83 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 34,83 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 83 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 83 |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 20,83 |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyden | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | | | |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | | | |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | | | |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | | | |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | | | |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | | | |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | | | |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | | | |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | | | x |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | x | 41,51 | |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | | | |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | | | |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | | | |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | x | 51(2) | |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | | | |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | | | |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | x | 49(2),50 | |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | x | 41 | |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | | | |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | | | x |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | | | |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | | | |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyden | x | 53,59 | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | x | 57 | | |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | x | 54,55,58,60 | | |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | x | 66 | | |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | x | 52(2),55(3) | | |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | x | 52(3),54,55 | | |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | x | 53,54 | | x |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | x | 52(3),55(3),58,59,60 | | |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | x | 67 | | |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | x | 52(2),53,54,55,57,58,59(3) | | |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | x | 57 | | |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | x | 55(7),58,60,61(5) | | |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | x | 52,55 | | |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | | | | |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | x | 52(2),55,58,65,66 | | |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | x | 52,53,54,55,62 | | |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | x | 52(2),53,54,55(3),59 | | |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | x | 55(2),58(3),59(2),61(4) | | |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | x | 52(2),59,61 | | |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | | |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | x | 53,54,62 | | x |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | | | | |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | | | | |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | x | 62 | | |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | x | Andirons, Cookpot | | x |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 61 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | x | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 52,53,55,58 | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 58 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | | | | | x | 69,72 | | | |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | | | | | x | 70,75(3) | | | |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | | | | | x | 75 | | | |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | | | | | x | 68,70,74,75 | | | |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | | x | | | x | 70,83 | | | |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | x |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | | | | | x | 69,70,77(3) | | | |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | | | | | x | 69,72 | | | |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | | | x | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | | | x | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | | | | | x | 69,70,75 | | | |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | | | | | x | 69,72 | x | | |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | | | x | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | | | x | 69,70 | x | 80 | |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | | | | | x | 72 | | | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | | | | | | | | | |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | x |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | | | | | x | 69,77(2) | | | |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 70,75 | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 83 | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 73 | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | | | | | x |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| X 104 | Lucas van Leyden | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | |
| X 109 | Lucas van Leyden | x |
| X 112 | Mstr. Amst. Death | |
| X 113 | Mstr. Amst. Death | |
| X 122 | Mstr. Delft | |
| XI 7 | Pseudo Bles | |
| XI 11 | Jan de Beer | |
| XI 12 | Jan de Beer | |
| XI 15 | Jan de Beer | |
| XI 20 | Jan de Beer | x |
| XI 21 | Jan de Beer | x |
| XI 31 | Anonymous | |
| XI 54 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | |
| XI 60 | Mstr. Ant. Ador. | |
| XI 68 | Mstr. Amiens | |
| XI 70 | Master of 1518 | |
| XI 72 | Master of 1518 | |
| XI 75 | Master of 1518 | |
| XI 84 | Master of 1518 | |
| XI 108 | A. Ysenbrandt | |
| XI 122 | A. Ysenbrandt | |
| XI 138 | A. Ysenbrandt | |
| XI 180 | A. Benson | |
| XI 194-195 | P. Pourbus | |
| XII 1 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | |
| XII 15 | Mstr. Leg. Magd. | |
| XII 33 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 38 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 42 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 43 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 44 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | TITLE | Books | | Candles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | Three Women Musicians | x | 1,2 | | |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | Lucretia | | | x | 6 |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | Jeanne de Boubais | x | 1 | | |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | Joseph and Potiphar's Wife | | | | |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | Last Supper | | | | |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | Virgin and Child (Madrid) | x | 2 | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (Madrid) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (Madrid) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (Douai) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (Berlin) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (164) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (165) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | St. Jerome (166) | x | 5 | x | 6 |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | Virgin Suckling the Child | | | | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | Loose Company | | | | |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | Woman Playing the Spinet | | | | |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | Woman Weighing Gold | | | | |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | Death of St. Anne | | | x | 7 |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | Portrait of P. Bicker and Wife | x | 1 | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Furniture | |
|---|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 81 |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 17,20,81 |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | x | 17,21,28,31 |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | x | 17 |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | x | 34(3),81 |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 20 |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,82 |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | x | 82,83 |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | x | 17,35,81 |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | x | 35,81 |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | x | 81 |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | x | 18,81 |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | x | 83 |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Glass | | Heraldic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | | | x |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | | | |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | x | 41 | |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | | | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | x | 42 | |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | x | 51(2) | |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | | | |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | | | |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Metal | | Oriental Rugs | Panel Ptgs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | x | 52,55(2),67 | | |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | x | 58 | | |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | x | 60,67 | | |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | x | 55,60(4),61(3) | | |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | | | | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | x | 52 | | |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | x | 58 | | |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | x | 58 | | |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | x | 57,59,60 | | |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | | | | x |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Cloth Ptgs | Prints | Sculpture | Tapestry | Textiles | | Stained Glass | | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | | | | | x | 69,70 | | | |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | | | | x | x | 69,75,77 | | | |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | | | | | x | 70 | | | |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | | | | x | x | 69 | x | 79 | |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | | x | | | x | 70 | | | |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | | | x | | x | 69 | | | |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | | | | | | | | | |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | | | | | x | 69,70 | x | 78 | |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | | | | | x | 69 | | | |

| PLATE # | ARTIST | Majolica |
|---|---|---|
| XII 45 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 46 | Mstr. Fem. Half | |
| XII 61 | J. Bellegambe | |
| XII 78 | Pieter Coeck | |
| XII 80 | Pieter Coeck | |
| XII 91 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 92 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 93 | Mv Reymerswaele | |
| XII 111 | J. van Hemessen | |
| XII 117 | J. van Hemessen | |
| XII 118 | J. van Hemessen | |
| XII 119 | J. van Hemessen | |
| XII 147 | J. van Amsterdam | |
| XII 201 | J. van Scorel | |

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## VITA

Annette Marie LeZotte was born in Joliet, Illinois on July 4, 1970 to Maryann Ruud LeZotte and Robert J. LeZotte. She graduated from Lincoln Way High School in New Lenox, Illinois in 1988. She attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and majored in Art History, graduating with a B.A. and designation as "Outstanding Senior in Art History" in 1992. She entered graduate studies in Art History at Florida State University in 1992. During the summer of 1994 she was awarded a Kress Foundation Fellowship to study infrared reflectography and the scientific examination of paintings at the Toledo Museum of Art under the direction of Dr. Molly Faries, Indiana University. In 1995 she graduated with a M.A. in Art History and began doctoral studies at the University of Texas at Austin in the fall of that year. She is currently Assistant Professor of Renaissance, Baroque, and Decorative Arts at Wichita State University.

Permanent Address: 1322 29th Street, Moline, Il. 61265

This dissertation was typed by the author.